

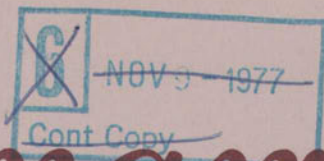


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*Library
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Trends in the Governance of Libraries

F. WILLIAM SUMMERS
Issue Editor

Fall 1977

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Introduction

F. WILLIAM SUMMERS

ONE OF THE MOST persistent and perplexing problems of recent years has been the governance of the large and complex social organizations which have developed to provide the goods and services demanded by an expanding society. Much attention has been focused on the design of organizational forms which might avoid some of the disadvantages of the traditional military/industrial (hierarchical) models. An almost equal amount of attention has been devoted to examining the nature of individual behavior in complex organizations (the behaviorist approach).

Underlying these investigations and explorations has been a series of myths which are themselves largely untested and unverified. Among these myths are:

1. Agencies of government, be they libraries or tax offices, are inherently inefficient and will inevitably replace accomplishment of purpose with maintenance of the organization as the major goal if left alone.
2. Private agencies, especially those involved in production, are inherently efficient because of the necessity to maintain a profit, and are the models which should be used to measure government activity.
3. Management theories and methods developed for the control and governance of production are directly applicable to the control and governance of government activities.

It is the purpose of this issue to examine the impact of these myths upon libraries and library services in a number of areas and over a relatively recent time period.

The plan of the issue is relatively simple, proceeding from the examination of several rather general questions to the examination of governance

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in particular situations. In this latter instance the papers are arranged in a roughly hierarchical order descending from the national to local levels of service.

Charles Curran's paper examines trends which are apparent in the governance of a variety of public organizations and relates these trends to libraries. His paper is designed to set the stage for the more detailed examination of library organizations which follows.

Certainly one of the more significant forces affecting social organizations in the last twenty years has been the search for equity on the part of various minority groups. Michelle Rudy examines the impact of the equity movement on library governance and concludes that while participation may have increased, it has not necessarily had a significant impact on library governance.

A major force affecting libraries for the past quarter-century has been the impact of federal dollars — and the federal regulations and priorities which have accompanied these funds — on local libraries. At this moment, and certainly until the conclusion of the White House conference, discussion will be focused on the role of federal support of libraries. Ernest R. DeProspo joins a small group of writers in suggesting that broad-based "aid" from the federal government must be replaced by carefully designed programs with clearly articulated policies. He also suggests that the time has long passed for the states to be asked to address seriously their responsibilities for establishing, funding and regulating library systems.

The first paper addressing governance in the context of a particular set of libraries is that of Russell Shank and Elaine Sloan, and it is appropriately concerned with libraries at the national level. Shank and Sloan review the legislative, policy and coordinating bases of national libraries and conclude that there is not a clearly established national policy, despite definite need and great pressure for its creation.

Charles H. Stevens, from his experience as director of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science and his current position as executive director of the Southeastern Library Network, examines the acute problems of governance of a relatively new creation — the inter-library network — and concludes that, over time, user-governed networks will probably be better able to deal with the complex problems involved in these highly intricate and costly ventures.

In his discussion of the governance of specialized information centers, James G. Williams explores the operation of a very specialized center which sells its services. These relatively recent information marketing agencies present new and intriguing problems of governance.

Introduction

Throughout public organizations, there appear to be two major conflicting trends: a demand for external accountability of performance and an expectation that staff will have a major voice in policy- and decision-making. Common to all types of libraries, these conflicts are perhaps most clearly revealed in the academic library and are insightfully examined by James F. Govan. He concludes that librarianship must develop its own accommodations to these pressures, because those developed for other enterprises do not seem adaptable to libraries.

Another facet of the conflict between societal expectations and institutional policies has affected the public schools, which have been forced to accept greater and greater responsibilities at the same time that they are held to increasingly strict accountability. Daniel Barron examines the impact of these pressures on the school media program and suggests that solutions must depend on coherent and cohesive actions by media professionals.

Virginia Young examines the phenomenon of the public library board which exists and apparently flourishes, despite strong trends away from such boards and toward professional management. She suggests that it is not sufficient that boards endure but rather that they must assert their responsibilities with intelligence and vigor if they are to meet societal expectations of governance.

These papers reveal that while the governance of libraries has undergone significant change in the last two decades, even greater change may be forthcoming. The results of societal changes — such as the equity movement, revised federal priorities, citizen control of local schools, unionization of professionals, technological innovation, and sophisticated networking — are yet to be seen. The present governance arrangements cannot be viewed as anything other than interim steps which accommodate the demands of time. The future will undoubtedly bring other accommodations and other forms of governance.

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Developing Patterns of Governance in Public Organizations

CHARLES CURRAN

"Growth is not automatic. It does not follow from success."¹

"But all dinosaurs had tiny brains."²

DINOSAURS, THE LARGEST and most terrifying land animals that ever prowled the planet, could have used some governance. They simply could not cope with change. The process was gradual and they did not rush to destruction in the manner of lemmings — yet although Marlin Perkins was not there to photograph the event for "Wild Kingdom," most authorities acknowledge that after 150 million years, there are no more dinosaurs. It seems that when nature's forces altered their landscape, climate and food supply, the giant beasts could not adjust. They liked things the old (very old) way, and competition from mammals, the new creatures in the neighborhood, did not help matters. The new plants were less tasty than the old ones; exit the plant-eaters — and exit the meat-eaters, too, for their favorite food was the plant-eaters.

It matters what kinds of governance models are employed in the public organizations now and in the future. The performance of assigned functions is dependent upon the establishment of policy, the allocation of resources, the utilization of personnel, and the regulation of services — the stuff of governance. Although the survival of some organizations may not be the crucial issue, perhaps those which fail to carry out their assigned functions ought to go the way of the dinosaur and make way for organizations which can perform.

While consolidation has affected some police agencies, and decreased enrollment has forced the closing of some colleges, public organizations

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such as those concerned with law enforcement and education are not in immediate danger of extinction; however, the quality of their, and our, survival is at issue. Change is the most demonstrable feature of current existence and society insists that public organizations like law enforcement agencies and institutions of higher learning be responsive. Society still demands transportation, clothing, shelter, food, and all the traditional, production-oriented outputs, but society also demands to be healthy, safe, entertained and informed, and those public organizations charged with providing such services must learn to anticipate and respond to those demands. Organizations which do not do so may become this era's dinosaurs, victims of their own inefficiencies; or worse, they may become scavengers — another of nature's cruel sentences imposed upon creatures who do not evolve.

Some public organizations appear to be making a move. The judiciary has recognized that organizational changes are in order. Police are observing that society considers the apprehension of alleged perpetrators only one of a number of essential police functions. Educators, especially those involved in higher education, are questioning the suitability of bureaucratic and collegial models to deal with conflict. Even some organizational theorists are beginning to realize that in order to share their insights and discoveries, they will have to get out of the laboratory and communicate with practitioners in symbols that both groups understand.

Libraries do not enjoy, or suffer the consequences of, the status of performing a crisis function. Those who argue that the need for information has reached a crisis stage may be correct, but the possibilities are slim of their showing that libraries — as they are presently organized and governed — address those needs. The fact is that more citizens know and care about "Laverne and Shirley" than about the public library. For years, Ralph Blasingame has been attacking (not in the jargon of organizational developers and model-builders but in the language of theoreticians and practitioners) some lingering dysfunctional influences of the prototype library and its inability to cope with change. Those interested in the governance of public libraries should consult his latest effort.³

The purpose of this article is to present evidence of general trends in the governance of public organizations. A brief look at (1) recent developments in organizational theory, (2) the lag between theory and practice, and (3) the fate of some management tools is followed by a closer inspection of governance trends in three major areas: government, law enforcement and higher education. The article concludes with some suggestions. While no fossils are intentionally overlooked here, it is not a purpose of

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this article to identify likely candidates for a "Museum of Extinct Public Organizations." If a fossil count were taken, however, there would be fewer organizations than theories of organization among the extinct and the near-extinct.

SOME DEVELOPMENTS

Whatever developments may occur in theories of governance, there will be a lag between those developments revealed in the laboratory or in the literature and those in practice. This is because the writers and experimenters are different people from the workers. In other words, practice will always postdate theory because by the time a theory evolves, the organizational problems requiring theoretical attention predate the interest in developing theories to deal with them. By the time the needed theory is developed, the organization has dealt with the old problem and faces a new problem. The cycle starts again. Note the contention is not that practice is necessarily ahead of theory, just different. Litchfield observed many years ago that administrators act without any real theory of administration to guide them.⁴

Referring specifically to organizational development activities and consultant intervention which is sometimes "over-researched and underconceptualized,"⁵ Weisbord relates the less-than-satisfactory results that consultants achieved when they tried to help Roman Catholic and Protestant theological schools to combine some of their efforts. Whatever the theoretical bases for the team-building activities which the consultants instituted, the project was in serious trouble from the outset. Teaching team-building to organizational constituents with no track record of cooperation and few or no interdependent structural ties requires considerable skill and knowledge of client operations.

Organizational developers might protest that citing this example of poor application of organizational development technique does their profession a disservice. The point is that successful application of technological wizardry requires that the client, as well as the technology, be studied before remedies are applied. A related consideration is that an affection for systems application should be tempered by knowledge gained through study of the environment in which systems theory or systems remedies would be applied. There is evidence that the superimposition of a systems solution on a subset of constituents with unresolved problems which the new system does not specifically address results in a nonsystem. One might protest: Bad systems theory! Poor example! Yes, it is bad systems theory,

but it is not a poor example. In the name of systems, such mistakes are made.⁶

Insofar as developments in organizational theory are concerned, a now-famous pair of researchers have made a significant contribution to closing the gap between theory and practice: "The Lawrence and Lorsch theory is so potent because it views such variables as structure, conflict, goals and outcomes within different environments, and shows that different conditions call forth different organizational forms."⁷ Relationships between organizational fit and performance relate crucially to governance patterns, especially to the establishment of policy and the utilization of personnel.

Any claim that a citadel such as the traditional rational bureaucracy is under siege and undergoing changes deserves some attention. The alleged attack comes from those who no longer accept the religion of centralized control which excludes them from decision activity. Qualitative values inspire attack on cost/production and quantitative values. Service economy, with its many unmeasurable — or as yet unmeasured — outputs, nudges production-oriented economy for a position at center stage, if it does not upstage it completely. These are processes which may significantly affect the governance of public organizations, especially the nonproduction-oriented ones.

Police forces, hospitals and even universities are in the business of improving the quality of human life; they "enrich experience," "enhance creativity,"⁸ or promote the general well-being — outputs that have always challenged and sometimes defied specific measurement. Some organizations survive through political activism, "through essentially political appeals based on the support of their values and activities by outside publics."⁹ As a consequence, the allocation of resources becomes politicized, largely because services paid for and consumed collectively are difficult to measure. Simpson calls this a "radical departure from rational bureaucratic values." He further states that "politics is nonrational," because political decisions are products of compromise, not "accounting criteria of efficiency."¹⁰

Another consequence of the attack on traditional rational bureaucracy is the absorption into the bureaucracy of values espoused by activists and interest groups. Big business, for example, has responded to the demands of women's groups, minority spokesmen and environmentalists by launching activities infrequently related to "productive efficiency or old fashioned rationality."¹¹ This is not to say that rational (production-oriented) decision activity is on the way out with the dinosaurs. It may mean, however, that amateur social scientists and social activists have made more progress

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toward humanizing organizations than professional behavioral scientists who merely describe the phenomena and do little to lessen the lag between theory and practice.

One should not hasten to conclude that the assimilation of activist causes by bureaucratic organizations is as attributable to humanizing influences as it is to enlightened self-preservation (one of bureaucracy's enduring and distinguishing characteristics). By espousing or appearing to espouse the causes of activist detractors, the organization effectively weakens its opponents and may strengthen its own position.

Even if these changes are only cosmetic adjustments, and even if they do not necessarily herald the advent of humanizing influences, they do signal the opportunity to increase organizational responsiveness. It would be premature to cite this as a trend in governance, however. One observes that prominent humanists are actively trying to promote their wares in the organization. Advocates of interpersonal communication, training groups, and participatory problem-solving have not lost their fervor, nor have they jettisoned their beliefs about alleged employee characteristics, such as that which holds that participation in decision activity leads to satisfaction and thus leads to productivity.

Kaplan and Tausky marshal some arguments, based upon research findings, that cast considerable doubt on the relationships between satisfaction and participation and between satisfaction and productivity.¹² Moreover, the authors are critical of some superstars. Argyris, Bennis and Maslow are suspected of allowing ideological orientations to influence their observations. Does the dogma of the immaculate perception hang on?¹³ "Largely based in academic surroundings which afford them opportunities for creativity and self-actualization, have organizational humanists inadvertently infused their own values into their theories and overgeneralized their perspectives to all workers?"¹⁴

If the organizational humanists are off-target and if their view of man in the organization is a slanted one, then based upon the theorists' own value-laden concepts of man, their theories are unlikely to have a lasting impact upon governance. Their views on motivation may render their models incapable of guiding improvements in organizational structure and governance, especially if worker dissatisfaction with bureaucratic organization is overstated. Workers may be less impatient in the shop than some theorists imagine.

Bureaucracy observers note the phenomenon of absorption of causes, and they also detect what has been referred to as an evaporation process in the federal government bureaucracy. Because change tends to occur

slowly in the bureaucracy, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether tools such as management by objectives (MBO) or Planning, Programming, Budgeting Systems (PPBS) are successful, or even whether they are alive, dead, or live in the sense that their concepts endure under a different descriptive tag.

Distinguishing between management tools which provide data to help make decisions about what ought to be done and those which provide data for deciding how to run the operation (MBO being an example of the latter), Rose comments on the fate of MBO as it was adopted and implemented at the federal level in 1973.¹⁵ Apparently, the age-old problem of establishing and articulating objectives was not made easier by adopting MBO, because this method concentrates on implementing and evaluating objectives, not just on listing them. Any hope that MBO would result in the reform of the federal bureaucracy soon disappeared, largely because the objectives set and published were noncontroversial and apolitical. Loss of interest at the top levels of the Office of Management and Budget filtered down through agency heads and management associates. The safe objectives advanced by bureaucrats drew little interest from political bigwigs, who had plenty of controversial issues that they hoped to influence. It became nonproductive for executive office staff to concern themselves with an agency objective such as the published intention to prepare a report by a given date, without an accompanying agency commitment to the contents of the report. The record shows that at least 80 percent of the agency objectives filed in 1973 and 1974 were safe, apolitical and unlikely to spark controversy.

The paper exercises of 1973 and 1974 may not be heralded as a major managerial innovation, but in some agencies remnants of MBO-type activities persist. "Perhaps it is better to turn from a legalistic determination of its status to a more atmospheric one, concluding that MBO has evaporated, becoming a part of the climate of management, albeit a part whose specific influence is limited and incapable of precise measurement."¹⁶ Similarly, PPBS seems to have evaporated, not disappeared. Its spirit lives in that the program analysis which it was designed to influence continues. The formal structure has disappeared, but analytical concepts in current usage are offspring of the formal structure of PPBS.

Identifying trends in the governance of public organizations requires one to focus on a type of public organization, for not to do so would result in the production of little more than a partial picture drawn from a mosaic of patterns. Even focusing on a type of organizational structure — the bureaucracy — provides only a limited, if useful, view. No promise

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of completeness accompanies the report which follows, because concentration of focus on governmental, law enforcement and educational agencies compensates only partially for the vastness of the issue. Some preliminary observations about such trends, however, are suggested by the parts thus far presented. In seeking to perpetuate itself, i.e. to remain in control of governance, an organization may battle inimical forces, and when the organization encounters real threats, it may affect adjustments in governance that will assimilate the demands of pressure groups, absorbing even their personnel. These workings have a way of sustaining the reigning authority and placating the challengers, who, having seen their causes succeed through absorption, vanish or go in search of other causes. The report that follows here cites challenges to the bureaucratic instrument of governance, but only in higher education is the bureaucratic model under serious attack.

TRENDS IN GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

Political rhetoric invests the word *reform* with some inherent good, but political reality challenges successful reform candidates to keep their promises. For example, a promise to reform or streamline the federal bureaucracy must encounter a severe challenge in the realization that a chief executive needs the federal bureaucracy to help him run the country. No president of the United States who really enters into an adversary relationship with the federal bureaucracy is likely to find the going smooth. Warwick notes that bureaucrats who do not see change — especially change which would result in debureaucratization — as preserving their interests will vigorously resist it.¹⁷ (John Pfiffner pointed out this fact in 1935.)¹⁸ Warwick's insights add dimension to the well-known facts of bureaucratic life at the federal level in that he has probed the inner workings and made discoveries about fundamental aspects of the bureaucracy. It is with these aspects which reformers must deal if they are to be successful.

Words like *accountability* and *reform*, and expressions like “decentralize the decision-making process” are high-octane utterances which, if repeated often enough in the right political climate, can help to elect reform candidates. Recent government scandals at the federal level provided the appropriate climate, and a number of reformers were swept into office as a number of incumbents were swept out. The current trend may be to elect reform candidates, but evidence of massive reform as a trend in governance at the federal level awaits discovery.

Possibilities for bureaucratic responsiveness may be greater when efforts to decentralize political and administrative machineries are successful. The bureaucracy may not permit these changes; it may view decentralization as dismemberment and resist this threat to its survival. The values of self-preservation that apply *in* the organization *about* the organization may, however, not apply to all decision-makers. For example, some of the rationality and efficiency (values closely associated with older bureaucratic models) may be replaced by other values, such as those advanced by environmentalists or energy conservationists in an effort to make the government responsive to societal needs. Frederickson is one who claims that if these tradeoffs are to occur, they have the best chance under decentralized conditions.¹⁹

Support for decentralization at the state level is offered by Sigelman, who has observed that "the quality of administration is not closely related to centralization of the decision-making process."²⁰ This is a tentative conclusion, but it is based on the use of specified standards for evaluating the quality of administration in the various states, and it announces no trend in the direction of decentralization at the state level of government.

Two trends are observable at the local level of government: (1) the continuance of revenue-sharing, which is the result of approval at the federal level; and (2) the continued popularity of the city-manager form of government. In combination, the two may result in less local decision input than anticipated. Almy reports the results of a study showing that there is little significant public involvement in the decision to spend federal revenue sharing funds and that city managers exert considerable influence on, yet provide few opportunities for, public review and participation in the budgeting process.²¹ As a power-to-the-people measure, revenue sharing seems less effective than some had anticipated. Almy hastens to observe that his data do not permit the conclusion that if citizens had more say, the decisions to spend would be different. There is cause to suspect, however, that in light of the increasing popularity of the city-manager form of government, there may be a corresponding increase in manager-influenced budget decisions and a decrease in examples of citizen participation which could encourage responsiveness on the part of the manager.

By default or by design, budget power may be headed into the hands of fewer people than reformers had hoped. Slogans may get politicians elected but they do not pay the bills. "Power to the People" is of less interest to city officials — especially those fighting the urban crisis battle — than "Money in the Treasury."

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Especially since Watergate, the public's confidence has been eroded and daily press revelations of examples of corruption in government encourage the erosion process. Cincinnati's city manager William Donaldson believes this corruptibility is a function of a poor accountability mechanism — that crimes being committed are "crimes of opportunity rather than hard core white collar corruption."²² In an effort to build public trust in government, Cincinnati is developing a system of accountability aimed at removing opportunities for accepting kickbacks, skimming receipts, padding payrolls, and using city materials and time to work on personal projects and other "crimes of opportunity."

Whether Cincinnati is ushering in a trend remains to be seen. Decentralization of governmental decision-making is hardly a trend at the federal level, but at the local level home rule is gaining momentum. Glendenning and Reeves note the strengthening and broadening of state and local officials' powers to set policies relating to their own employees, powers reinforced by key U.S. Supreme Court decisions on wage and hour regulations.²³

Federal legislative and executive actions also affect local governance. Revenue sharing and countercyclical aid aimed at combatting unemployment have been controversial programs. Insofar as trend-influencing properties of these measures are concerned, they seem to continue to strengthen the decision-making positions of local fiscal authorities to the exclusion, it is charged, of input from the citizen.

Extension of revenue sharing and grant opportunities has fueled the efforts toward home rule. Available funds allow local governments more latitude in establishing and executing policy, but innovations in the decision-making mechanisms of metropolitan areas are scarce. There does seem to be a trend toward employing professional managers to oversee administrative functions in the municipalities.

TRENDS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

The governance of law enforcement agencies is also affected by issues which confront federal, state and local governments. Organizational structure, the use of management tools, control and responsibility, centralization versus decentralization, and responsiveness to societal needs are only a few of these issues.

The consolidation of police services cannot be described as a trend, but interest in such activity is widespread on the part of both proponents and opponents. It is common to think of consolidation as an economy

measure aimed at streamlining services and ending unnecessary duplication of expenses in related areas. Economic criteria may not provide the chief basis for judging the success of consolidation and metropolitanization of police services. Socioeconomic characteristics are more responsible, according to Pachon and Lovrich, for citizen satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the organizational pattern.²⁴

Clearly, matters of function and responsibility must be settled before organizational patterns develop. Kenney foresees consolidation and expanded efforts at instituting regional bases for police service, but he observes that policing is no longer the exclusive responsibility of police forces. His claim that the "basic responsibility for the policing of society remains with a disciplined people,"²⁵ is a proposition inviting explanation. How does a society exercise that basic responsibility and still allow its representatives (delegates, really) the policing authority required to do the policing? The acceptance of Kenney's proposition necessitates the exploration of ways to put the concept into practice in the streets, precincts, courts and jails.

In an attempt to establish goals and objectives and to organize to accomplish them, some police agencies are turning attention to employee-management relations, the need to attract and retain good personnel, and the establishment of personnel administration and other specialized units in police departments.²⁶ The employment of civilians by police departments is another growing practice that has yet to reach trend proportions. Where this practice is judged to be substantially beneficial (especially where savings are realized), the variety of jobs for civilian employees is likely to increase.

It may be the nature of bureaucracy to impose on its membership certain duties which some members regard as irritating and/or unrelated to their essential functions. Librarians who rise in state hierarchies, for example, frequently find themselves engulfed in reports and proposals. Some have been heard to complain that they have become paper-shufflers and bureaucrats instead of librarians. Police are not spared this situation, and the acquisition of civilian forces to aid in administrative duties is welcomed. Gray clouds do appear, however, in the form of complaints by civilian forces about low pay. If such complaints are met with salary and benefit adjustments, the increased expense could substantially reduce the cost initiative for hiring civilian components.²⁷

Attention to the more basic issue of organizational planning has yet to reach trend proportions, but the efforts of the Kansas City (Missouri) Police Department to engage in long-range planning, grant selection,

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computer-assisted planning procedures, and research and development activities deserve notice. The use and fate of certain management tools will be especially interesting to watch. A tool like PPBS, for example, requires operational statements of goals. Goals so stated — in ways that can be measured — call for police to translate operationally the goal of maintenance of public safety. What is a tolerable number of rapes for the month of March? Some societal forces, uneducated in the niceties of budget jargon, might be uncomfortable with any figure as a “tolerable” number for any crime.²⁸ Perhaps there are ways around the language which will avoid conflict.

What happens, however, when pressures of economy and politics or economy and social welfare conflict? Many organizational principles, which are theoretical constructs, are based almost exclusively on economics; when principles of industrial economy are imposed on police, some problems arise. Not all police efforts are quantifiable; some are. An economic equation may help administrators to decide how many patrolmen to deploy to a traffic intersection, but when certain inalienable rights require protection or when criminals must be prosecuted if police are to keep faith, what purely economic principles apply?

The problem is probably more basic than one of finding ways to describe and execute a police function. Richardson claims that police are asked to do the impossible: to prevent and control crime in a society, committed to freedom and economic individualism, which permits a huge amount of social and economic inequality.²⁹ Given these conditions, a search for trends in governance indicates that police at all organizational levels face enormous problems. Society's expectations fluctuate and make the office of commissioner an extremely vulnerable one, subject to both mayoral and constituent displeasure. “No matter what the formal powers of control and discipline may be, civil service protection and internal cohesion against outside threat reduce the administrator's ability to run his own department.”³⁰ Internal cohesion among rank and file results in conservative and negative reaction to outside pressure for change; one may consider, for example, the fate of civilian review boards and special review agencies and commissions. Furthermore, many patrolmen feel rejected by the very society they have pledged to protect. These feelings reinforce suspicions and promote a solidarity on the force that results in the maintenance of the status quo rather than the pursuit of innovation.

It is small wonder that police would consider change a threatening issue. They serve a society that is concerned with personal safety, supportive of “law and order” issues, gradually reinstituting the death penalty,

intolerant of criminal behavior, and tolerant of harsh law enforcement. This same society, however, also appears to want to treat antisocial behavior with new and/or different approaches, and considers law enforcement only one of a number of appropriate police functions.³¹ Compounding this formidable obstacle is the fact that, in too many cases, "each unit in the criminal justice system pursues its own goals rather than those of the system as a whole."³²

Kenney describes efforts to develop a criminal justice system composed of integrated subsystems: police, courts, prosecuting agencies and correctional agencies. Like Richardson, he observes that these agencies often function as a nonsystem. To deal with this situation, "massive efforts at reform are being undertaken by the federal government through the allocation of large sums of money for research, education and operational improvement administered by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration"³³ and by state and local agencies. How successful are current efforts to integrate, to institute changes, to influence change? Kenney claims that "the current police administrative environment generally mitigates against change."³⁴

These are conditions which must affect any trend in the governance of law enforcement agencies. They produce serious conflict between fluctuating societal expectations and police administration and middle management, which are generally resistant to change. In spite of this conflict, and partially because of it, there is discernible movement in the direction of clarifying the police role, establishing higher academic requirements for police service, instituting a greater variety of in-service training programs, and gathering and interpreting better data about crime and criminals.

System aspects which characterize relationships among the public organizations charged with maintaining the social order are detected in the complaints of police who claim that arrested criminals are not prosecuted, in the complaints of judges who protest the backlog of cases, and in the complaints of appellate review advocates who see theirs as a mission to install accountability measures in the judiciary. The ubiquitous resistance to change endures among the men in black as it does among the men in blue.

Robin has some excellent insights to share on this topic.³⁵ In the administration of criminal justice, practitioners exercise a number of discretionary powers, and they may view any change as weakening or threatening to the exercise of such powers. Criminal justice reform movements, with a heavy management-by-objectives emphasis that focuses on out-

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come, are viewed as particularly threatening to sentencing powers. Specifically, appellate review is opposed by most judges who are uncomfortable with the idea of writing sentence justifications which are subject to review, criticism and even reversal. This is disruptive to routine and is threatening to the autonomy of judges who prefer to avoid sanctions and who jealously guard prerogatives.

A feature of a reform movement begun in bureaucratic mechanisms is that change is usually championed by and imposed by those higher in the pyramid. Those upon whom reform is imposed see themselves as having to suffer the consequences of change, while the decision-makers whose routines are undisturbed look on from their loftier positions and enjoy the benefits that their highly publicized reform has won. Therefore, in addition to wanting to avoid justifications for sentencing, judges resist appellate review because they see it as an imposed change that has disruptive consequences for them, but not for the champions of reform in the hierarchy who impose it. As long as reformers ignore the fact that judges, like all human beings, require some incentive to compensate them for their risk-taking, reform movements such as appellate review are likely to encounter continued resistance. "What rewards are offered that would be sufficiently persuasive and satisfying professionally and psychologically to motivate such self-sacrifice in the name of 'improving the system'?"³⁶ — that may be the pivotal question.

One modification in the organization of the judiciary may be on the way, however, probably because it is seen as a nonthreatening, helpful measure for dealing with congestion in the courts. Where the attempt to separate questions of liability from questions of damage and the appointment of more judges have failed to speed court procedures, the office of state court administrator seems to be succeeding in two important ways. Some of the administrative tasks which once burdened judges have been shifted to these officers, and the court administrator has been able "to provide a liaison with the legislative and the public and private groups who have an interest in the administration of justice." Legislative liaison is considered "a necessary precondition to modernizing the courts and increasing their efficiency," for it is through such contact that the judiciary is able to get sufficient financial support.³⁷

What trends exist in the governance of public organizations charged with preserving the public welfare? *Reform* is a popular term that draws unfavorable reactions in the establishment, especially in lower echelons. Except where some police forces are taking steps to alter and expand their services in response to specifically interpreted societal demands, most

decisions about policy, allocation of resources, and regulation of services perpetuate the status quo. The hiring of civilians to fulfill certain police and judicial functions seems to be the most apparent trendlike occurrence in these organizations.

TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Omerta (the Sicilian word meaning "code of silence") and "publish or perish" are mutually exclusive commands that have great bearing upon what is known about certain organizations.

Public university administrators find their policies, budgets and curricula subject to legislative review; faculty are evaluated by students, colleagues, deans, and tenure and promotion committees; and students and their activities are on constant display. Citizens have addressed to newspaper editors angry letters demanding that professors work more than eight hours a week for their fat salaries. Campus unrest in the 1960s, the coming of collective bargaining to academe, enrollment issues and the high visibility of public colleges and universities are among those factors which combine to make public higher education a likely environment in which to study governance. While the increases will be slower than those in the 1960s, institutions of higher education will experience a continued increase in enrollment, which will peak in 1982. This period will see an emphasis on preservice career education, as well as on continuing education for those who seek to update skills. These forecasts³⁸ have serious implications for the governance issue. How accurately a university appraises demand and how swiftly it accommodates change may determine its very survival.

The view of the governance issue presented by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) is worth noting. In its "Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities," the association describes an "inescapable interdependence among governing board, administration, faculty, students and others . . . [that requires] . . . adequate communication among these components, and full opportunity for appropriate joint planning and effort." The statement does not, however, explain how and why a "distinction should be observed between the institutional system of communication and the system of responsibility for the making of decisions."³⁹ For over fourteen years the AAUP, the American Council on Education, and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges has been preparing this statement which ACE "recognizes . . . as a significant step forward in the clarification of the respective roles of

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governing boards, faculties and administrations.”⁴⁰ The statement is interesting reading, but it will do little to remove doubts that AAUP has ever rushed to perceive an issue in time to do anything about it.

Whatever its shortcomings, the statement acknowledges the need to understand the decision environment. Gove and Floyd have recently searched the literature of higher education for efforts to describe the external political environment in which college and university administrations function. They noted an abundance of analyses of internal organizational structure and of the mission of higher education, but a “relatively low level of development of the literature on higher education politics.”⁴¹ The authors were able to show evidence that the disappearance of older political boundary lines is known to some researchers. The politics of the outside world are becoming part of the politics of the university. Forces of change are detected, and if universities do not respond with programs designed to address those changes, other groups may determine what their response should be. Gove and Floyd concluded that although no one has yet defined the role of the university in the political arena, university-based political scientists are beginning to realize that their own environment is as appropriate for study and analysis as are other areas of society.

That environment is further described by Van Dyne, who reports that by late 1974, twenty-seven states had “statewide coordinating boards for higher education as well as governing boards for individual institutions”; these bodies “occupy the legal and political turf between the various universities (which have their own ‘governing boards’) and the state governments.”⁴² These boards subject the campuses to external controls and reduce their independence significantly. Among the powers exercised by some of them are licensing and program approval, the establishment of enrollment ceilings, and the setting of tenure standards.

Wherever these boards exist, power drifts from the campus toward the state. A trend toward centralization thus appears, but, as has been noted, little headway has been made in understanding that environment toward which power tends to drift.

The inner environment of students, faculty and administration has more often been the focus of study and is better understood. Bureaucratic and collegial models of governance are under close scrutiny, if not attack. In the university a “political model is closer to an accurate description of the actual state of affairs and is potentially more helpful for constructive conflict resolution than is the ivory tower model of rational, selfless enlightenment which is purported to exist among a community of scholars.”⁴³

Older, tamer issues, such as men in the women's dorm and library hours, sometimes tested the capacity of university governance to maintain order. Today's issues rock the very foundations of academe and they are fueled by ideological commitment not invested in earlier ones. Older models of governance will not accommodate the charged issues of the late 1970s.

Some evidence of this change can be drawn from findings which show decision-making processes to include faculty as well as administrators. In an effort to determine the decision-making roles of deans in liberal arts colleges of large public universities, Schuh questioned deans about twenty-one issues of academic administration.⁴⁴ He found that nineteen of the twenty-one issues were instituted or implemented by faculty or department chairmen, not deans—but deans maintain the vital approval prerogatives, so theirs remains a potent decision-making role. If these are legitimate examples of governance by the governed, and if they constitute a real shift in power rather than an isolated example, the university version of the bureaucratic model with its structural concessions to collegiality may be on the way out in favor of a political model.

A comparison of bureaucratic, collegial and political models characterizes the bureaucratic model as applicable to the administrative structure of the college or university; the collegial model as consistent with the usually peaceful sharing of interest and involvement among students, faculty and administrators; and the political model as accepting of conflict as "a normal aspect of organizational existence and, consequently, focusing on conflict-resolution procedures."⁴⁵ All three models have something to contribute to an acceptable theory of college or university governance which helps to explain current phenomena and to provide expectations of future events. Bureaucratic and collegial models have poor forecasting capabilities and have failed to deal successfully with some recent events (e.g., campus unrest, collective bargaining, and the struggle for scarce dollars). The political model, with its major focus on change, treats conflict as normal in the flow of events; bureaucratic and collegial models do not.

The political model requires that students and faculty exert a great deal of energy in the experience of self-government, shared decision-making and power politics. (Many still avoid this experience, considering it inappropriate in academe—but their numbers dwindle.) Political models must be engineered, however. Their features are probably not present to any great extent in those faculty senate organizations which are mere concessions to the desires of some faculty to earn a voice or of some adminis-

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trators to divest themselves of decision activity they would rather not exercise.

Collective bargaining is the issue that most clearly indicates a need for the conflict-resolving properties of the political model. As unions on the campus grow in strength, they frequently become involved in issues of curriculum implementation. A serious problem is thus created, for the unions' frequent exclusion of department chairpersons and almost always of administrators systematically eliminates the influence of those who can contribute constructively to such policy decisions. To offset this problem (or, perhaps, trend), Kemerer and Baldrige call for the establishment of deliberative forums which bring together members of the academic community — teachers, administrators, support staff and others — and thus involve them in governance. Unions should promote these forums, because the collective bargaining arena remains an inappropriate setting for academic policy deliberation.⁴⁶ Such bodies may not differ substantially from the faculty senate-type organizations which exist with unions on some campuses. Even joint membership in such organizations does not eliminate the we-they attitudes that frequently develop. Union sponsorship of institutionwide deliberative forums may be the key to peaceful and productive coexistence.

In economics classes the term *collective bargaining* was once used by professors to describe an activity of labor unions. Now the professors are also selecting collective bargaining agents; this is an identifiable trend. Occasionally, another term, *retrenchment*, which rarely used to apply to college teachers, becomes a topic of concern on campus. Cutbacks and closings are also part of the current scene, and while they are not yet trends or prevailing tendencies, they are closely associated with unionization — which is a trend — and may accompany the trend toward decreasing enrollment forecast for the 1980s.

Universities may soon discover that their chief concern will be how to attract and keep students, i.e. how to survive. A realization likely to affect the allocation of resources and the utilization of personnel is that teaching activities have a greater immediate impact on keeping students at the university than research and publication. Shall "instruct or destruct" replace "publish or perish"?

It is difficult to agree with an opinion⁴⁷ that the trend in higher education will be away from governance per se and toward academic redesign. The two seem so closely related. Academic redesign can come only as the result of decision activity in matters of policy, resource allocation, person-

nel utilization and service regulation, and the entire academic community is likely to be involved in this. Diamond lists eight prerequisite conditions for promoting effective and healthy responses to problems associated with change.⁴⁸ All of them relate to governance as defined here.

Trend-watchers observe the establishment of coordinating boards — extra layers in the state government bureaucracy — that siphon power from the university to its outer environment. That same outer environment is supplying clients at a diminishing rate and by 1980 there will be a downward turn in enrollment, accompanied by demands for more career-oriented education. Trend-watchers observe that the internal affairs of the university seem frequently drawn along lines best described by a political model. Major universities also seem to be developing an interest in policy analysis. Perhaps academic leadership will discover how to promote responsive behavior in the organization, but manipulative appeals for accountability unaccompanied by measures to implement responsibility are mere gestures according to Etzioni. He suggests coalition-building as a method for mobilizing the forces of change.⁴⁹

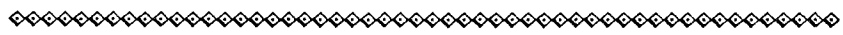
Among the most significant advances made in the area of understanding organizational behavior are the findings of Lawrence and Lorsch,⁵⁰ whose pioneering investigations on relationships between organizational fit and performance have won them recognition in the academic community of theorists and scholars. The locus of recognition makes their findings of only potential value. Their landmark achievements must somehow be communicated to practitioners (i.e. persons capable of making change) in ways that convince them that their organizations can benefit from the researchers' insights. Warwick has described the anatomy, and has begun even to capture the soul, of the bureaucratic hierarchy.⁵¹ Blau and Schoenherr have demonstrated the relationship between organizations and environment.⁵² The stuff of understanding is available. Only when these and other theoreticians and researchers are able to convince practitioners that their hypotheses and theories are as supportable and valid in the trenches as they are in the laboratories will conceptual frameworks enabling organizations to deal with change have a chance at adoption.

As long as theoreticians aim first and only for the approving nods of others in their fraternity, as long as outside management teams are hired to consult and run, and as long as researchers hawk models that are either so incomplete or so abstract that they defy implementation, the trends in the governance of public organizations will always be behind the developments that need to be governed.

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Equity and Patterns of Library Governance

MICHELLE RUDY

THERE ARE THREE WAYS of introducing social change into organizations: (1) an attempt can be made to convert the hearts and minds of organizational members by argument and example; (2) a threat can be offered or applied in terms of legislation which will influence (force) the organization to adopt the desired change; or (3) the institution itself may be modified, or other changes in the institution used, to permit the introduction and acceptance of social change.

In the years since the enactment of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the promulgation of Executive Orders 11246, 11375 and 11478, those seeking to eliminate sex and race discrimination in libraries have relied largely on argument, example and legislation. While the success of these tactics is moot — e.g., a seeming increase in the number of announcements of women and minorities receiving promotions and appointments to high-level library positions versus the continued existence of salary differentials based on sex for both beginning¹ and established² librarians — there can be little doubt that efforts to decrease discrimination have had some influence on the way the library is run.

The object of this paper is to examine these methods of effecting social change for their impact on library governance. More specifically, effort will be made to identify the effect of legislating equity on library governance, and the effect of changes in library governance on the achievement of equity by those who desire it.

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF LIBRARY GOVERNANCE

Like many complex organizations, libraries tend to be organized into bureaucratic hierarchies in which authority and power (the planning,

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organizing, directing, staffing, controlling and evaluating functions) are centralized in the upper echelons, and the service and operations aspects are located in the primary units and departments. The administrative structure accompanying the hierarchy is usually characterized by chains of command in which the superior's responsibility for and authority over the subordinate is clearly defined, and by the use of rules and procedures both to control the activities of employees and, in theory at least, to provide equality of treatment for the organization's clientele. A significant element of bureaucratic authority is the assumption that subordinates possess little interest or expertise in the activities necessary for the success of the department.³ As a result, employees are given little autonomy in determining which tasks to perform and which methods to use. Conformity to bureaucratic values is encouraged over creativity in service to users, and success is rewarded by promotion to administrative ranks rather than by professional advancement.

This form of library governance (which is rarely as clearly drawn as the above description suggests) is reasonably effective in a stable socio-economic and cultural environment, if the director is a benevolent authoritarian, and if employees expect this type of administration. When these conditions are not met or cease to exist, libraries using bureaucratic governance structures find it increasingly difficult both to achieve their objectives and to respond effectively to the new demands placed on them.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE LIBRARY BUREAUCRACY

Several explanations have been offered for the emergence of this governance structure, rather than another, in libraries. Marchant,⁴ for example, suggests that the authoritarian administrative pattern found in today's libraries is a carryover from the type of administration used in early twentieth century business and emulated by early library leaders during periods of growth and expansion. Lynch⁵ notes that this type of governance is effective in achieving the library's organizational goals and is well suited to the work done. In other words, because much of library work consists of repetitive, routine tasks requiring little discretion and is highly amenable to rules and standard procedures, it is well suited to a bureaucratic structure with its concomitant authoritarian leadership style. Garrison⁶ states that the bureaucratic, authoritarian library developed because of the predominance of women in the library profession. The social and cultural environment in which librarianship developed was such (and to an extent continues to be) that women expected and accepted administrative controls, low autonomy and subordination to rou-

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tine clerical tasks. Schiller⁷ reverses cause and effect to argue that women were recruited into librarianship to accommodate a pre-existing hierarchical structure and the accompanying low pay.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EQUITY

These explanations are not mutually exclusive and together they offer some insight into why it is difficult for women and minorities to achieve equity by working within the system. First, traditional library governance patterns are based on, and continue to promote, a division of labor and accompanying status by sex.⁸ In other words, administrative positions are expected to be the province of the few men who enter the library profession. Carl Jackson commented on the significance of this expectation for women academic librarians: "In my early years in the profession, there was a general and widespread assumption among my colleagues . . . that women generally would not achieve positions above department head level in university libraries. . . . This is not a conscious plot or a commitment, but, I think, more a subconscious awareness that this is, in fact, what generally existed."⁹ Women administrators, especially effective ones, are considered remarkable exceptions. Similar expectations have been held for black librarians. In 1970 Edward Mapp wrote: "Black librarians are now sought after where 'entry level' or token positions are vacant but when a major college or university library directorship becomes available, the experienced black librarian, with few exceptions, remains 'the invisible man.'"¹⁰

Because these unconscious assumptions and prejudices are sanctified by the bureaucratic tradition, two further disadvantages accrue to women and minority librarians. They are prevented from obtaining the experience necessary for increased responsibility as decision-makers (one recalls the oft-heard lament, "But there are no qualified minority or women applicants"), and from obtaining the rewards — salary, work satisfaction, power and influence — which go disproportionately to top administrators.

Inflexibility is the final factor explaining the library's inability to meet the expectations of minority and women employees. This is due to the existence of maintenance mechanisms inherent in the bureaucratic governance structure — for example, formal authority, rule enforcement, influence and status rewards according to hierarchical position — which work to limit the library's ability to adopt change.¹¹ The end result is a governance system which by custom and usage fails to provide equal and impartial treatment for the majority of its employees.

THE DEMAND FOR EQUITY

As the preceding discussion implies, discrimination in employment imposes costs on minority and women librarians in terms of income and the positive benefits of work — recognition, achievement and self-actualization. It is not surprising then, that the demands for equity have centered in the following five areas:

1. The active recruitment of minority group members into the profession;
2. The opportunity to apply for and obtain, or be promoted to, positions justified by experience and education;
3. The power to shape effectively the library's role in the community it serves;
4. Equal pay for equal work for both professional and nonprofessional library workers; and,
5. Equal benefits.

These issues are not, of course, completely new to the library profession. Concern and action about salary differentials between men and women,¹² the segregation of seating and eating facilities at professional meetings,¹³ and the integration of professional organizations and library facilities¹⁴ all predated current interests by many years. It was, however, only with the passage of federal legislation prohibiting race and sex discrimination in employment, and the subsequent revision or introduction of similar legislation at the state and local levels, that a legal foundation for action was created. Highlights of relevant equal employment opportunity legislation will be described here.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, is a broadly based law which prohibits employers from discriminating (by refusing to hire, discharging or otherwise discriminating in wages, benefits or conditions of employment), classifying, or segregating employees and applicants on the basis of race, religion, color, national origin, or sex. This means that marital status, grooming standards, or the preferences of customers (in this case library users) or of fellow employees may not be used as criteria in the hiring process or to assign employees. In addition, the act has been used to delimit job qualifications to those actually necessary for performing the work, and it also precludes discrimination against white males. Unlike other equal employment legislation, the act does not require corrective

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affirmative action involving hiring and promotion goals unless a compliance review or self-analysis results in a finding of discrimination.¹⁵

Executive Order 11246 as amended by E.O. 11375 and E.O. 11478 prohibits employment discrimination by federal contractors, subcontractors, and federal employers. In addition, the orders require organizations with contracts over \$50,000 and fifty or more employees to develop and implement written affirmative action programs which describe goals and timetables for the employment of minorities and women in job categories in which they have been underutilized. The guidelines issued for these orders in Revised Order No. 4 are similar to court interpretations of Title VII requirements; they prohibit job advertisements by sex, sex- or race-based seniority lists, distinctions between married and unmarried persons by sex, and so forth.¹⁶ Most, if not all, of the larger university and federal libraries in the United States are subject to the provisions of these orders.

Unlike Title VII, the Equal Pay Act of 1963 (amended in 1972 and 1974) does not address all forms of employment discrimination; rather, it prohibits the creation or existence of pay differentials based on sex when both women and men perform work which is substantially equal. The degree of equality is measured with respect to total effort (both mental and physical), degree of skill, the amount of responsibility, and similarity of working conditions. Pay differences based on factors other than sex, e.g., shift differentials, seniority, and merit differentials, are permissible provided the systems are equally open to both sexes. Differences in job title, job classification, job description (as opposed to actual job content), the availability of women, or their willingness to work for a lower wage are not considered justification for pay differences, nor are supervisory styles which result from stereotyped assumptions about the abilities of women employees. The 1972 amendment extended coverage to administrative and professional employees, including college and university professors, elementary and secondary school teachers. The 1974 amendment extended protection to employees of most local, state and federal agencies.¹⁷ Most librarians and library workers are covered by this act.

Other statutes of importance to libraries and librarians include Title IX of the Education Amendments Act, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973, and the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972, all of which specifically prohibit "exclusion from participation in," "the denial of benefits of," or discrimination arising from race, color, sex, religion or national origin.¹⁸

IMPACT ON TRADITIONAL GOVERNANCE PATTERNS

A careful study of equal employment opportunity legislation indicates that it is designed to correct employment inequities from within the bureaucratic framework. Most if not all of the recommended affirmative action procedures, for example, represent little more than a sound personnel program. Nevertheless, the law does have the potential to change procedural aspects of library governance. In the areas of recruitment and hiring, it redefines the procedure by determining the type and placement of job advertising; it places limitations on the information that can be obtained from candidates; and it requires validated, job-related selection standards and unbiased interviewing. In the area of salary and wage administration, it prescribes salaries, wages and fringe benefits. In the area of staffing, it prohibits the placement of librarians and other library staff into positions solely because of race, color or sex. The requirements of the affirmative action plan extend equal employment opportunity concepts to promotions, training, evaluation and career ladders; it further holds the library accountable for positive action in these areas. In addition, Revised Order No. 4 extends affirmative action requirements to the library's suppliers provided they have contracts of \$10,000 or more, and makes the library responsible for ensuring the supplier's compliance before a contract is assigned.

On paper, then, legislation has had an impact on library governance through an erosion of autonomy by placing limitations and demands on the actions of library administration, through a shift in responsibility from the victim of discrimination to the organization practicing it, and through changes in accountability in which the library must prove to the government not only nondiscrimination but affirmative action to counter the effects of past discrimination and inaction.

EXAMPLES

Examples of these impacts occur with increasing frequency in the literature. One substantial change, the creation of equivalency schemes, resulted from the dilemma produced by the failure of the profession to attract minority group members to library careers and the pressure placed on libraries to hire and promote minority librarians. To solve this problem, some libraries have developed career ladders which allow nonprofessional employees to compete for professional openings either by equating their job experience with a college degree,¹⁹ or by providing access to college-level coursework and using a combination of this and on-the-job training to allow nonprofessionals to earn professional standing.²⁰ In essence, these

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libraries have made significant policy changes to provide equity for minority group members. They have rewritten the education and experience requirements and eliminated the need for an MLS degree to obtain a professional position. The consequences are likely to reach beyond the individual library to the profession as a whole, if only because the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is not happy with the stipulation of a specific college degree for positions where it cannot be clearly proven necessary.²¹

Another example is the procedure now required for filling vacancies in academic libraries. As described by Christofferson,²² it can involve steps ranging from developing the job description to signing the contract and including the notification of minority and other special employment groups, justifying the selection of one candidate, and providing reasons for rejecting others. The process may take six months or more with resultant deficiencies in library service due to inadequate staffing. Even more troublesome, there is no evidence yet to indicate that the hiring procedure has become more equitable. In fact, one administrator noted a reluctance to "take a chance on a black or female" because the required job descriptions are considered inflexible.²³ While this reasoning seems to assume that all blacks and females are doomed to failure, or that once hired, a librarian can never be fired, it also suggests that legislation may cause already inflexible bureaucratic governance systems to become even more resistant to change.

EVALUATION

It seems unlikely that legislation is the most appropriate tactic for introducing social change into libraries. It doesn't change attitudes; it may be used to pit one disadvantaged class against another; it may create the fear that minority librarians are cornering the employment and promotions market (thus deterring affirmative action efforts); or it may result in downgrading the MLS degree. Furthermore, as Toth²⁴ has argued, the enforcement of equal employment opportunity legislation in connection with high levels of unemployment places a heavy burden on employers and may mislead job hunters. Finally, the few reports available which measure — however indirectly — the effectiveness of legislation indicate that it still pays for librarians to be white males.²⁵

An alternative to legislation (or, perhaps a complement) seems to exist in the introduction of nontraditional governance structures, particularly some form of participation, into libraries.

NONTRADITIONAL FORMS OF GOVERNANCE

Participatory management, committee consultation, delegation, decentralization, self-governance, collegial governance and industrial democracy are all terms used to describe various forms of employee participation in the organization. Some of these — participatory management, committee consultation, delegation — are more descriptive of a leadership style that can operate fairly easily within the context of a hierarchical bureaucracy than of a governance structure. This is because in practice the supervisor permits or chooses to engage in participation with his/her subordinates as an alternative to an authoritarian style; the formal power structure remains unchanged. Collegial governance, self-governance and industrial democracy, on the other hand, tend to be built into the organization. They imply a flat hierarchy and an organization that is largely employee-controlled (i.e. decisions are almost always made at the lowest appropriate level) and that is sometimes employee-owned. According to some behavioral scientists, the introduction of self-governance requires that traditional organization be restructured and jobs redesigned before participation can emerge as an effective management technique.²⁶

Whatever the form, genuine participation is characterized by the staff's possession of real decision-making power over substantial matters affecting the organization, and is based on the premise that employees welcome autonomy and will accept responsibility for the constructive use of that autonomy on the job. Commitment, trust and power-sharing by management and employees are essential to the success of effective participation programs.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EQUITY

Participation has several implications for the achievement of equity in organizations. First, because the supervisor and subordinate share the authority for decision-making and the responsibility for results, the power differential between them is reduced.²⁷ Second, participation, particularly the self-governance variety, tends to eliminate layers of middle management, thus reducing the traditional power structure²⁸ and permitting the introduction of new criteria for determining status (i.e. supervision is no longer a sign of status). Third, by virtue of participation in decision-making (attending meetings, providing input, interacting with a variety of people in the organization), individuals acquire higher status in the organization.²⁹ Fourth, because participation often occurs in group situations, individuals (particularly those with minority status) can more easily be-

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come accepted members of the organization.³⁰ Fifth, participation in decision-making provides the experience which women and minorities need in order to become more valued members of the organization. Finally, participation allows individuals to influence the progress of the organization and may produce feelings of achievement and self-actualization,³¹ thus increasing individuals' identification with the organization and making them more valuable to it.

CAVEATS

Despite these factors, participation may not be the golden road to achieving equity. Because most participation in decision-making and problem-solving takes place in committees, the group's composition, leadership and mode of interaction heavily influence its effectiveness.

The usefulness of participation for achieving equity in terms of both the individual and the decision made can be nullified when explicit status distinctions within the committee are allowed to influence the content of communications or reduce social interaction and support among committee members. For example, low-status individuals may be unwilling to "make waves" because they have learned that such behavior is unlikely to be supported by high-status members of the group. Similarly, the group's leader(s) (either natural or elected) must be committed to the concept of equity. Otherwise, it is fairly easy to fail to pass on, or to ignore, the ideas and suggestions of group members seeking equity. The committee's mode of interaction is equally important because the internal operations of the group as a whole tend to squelch both unpopular ideas and ideas from unpopular people, before they can be considered on the basis of merit.³²

THE LIBRARY EXPERIENCE

Participation in the form of committee work aimed at tapping the experience and expertise of librarians has long been a practice in many libraries.³³ Only recently, however, have attempts been made to extend a role in the decision-making process to all interested staff members. Despite this short time span, a review of the literature reveals a full range of participation in library decision-making. Some examples include: the use of a consultative committee structure for coordination and decision-making;³⁴ the use of peer evaluation for promotions, tenure and pay raises;³⁵ the election of departmental chairpersons (and the suggestion that the library director be elected);³⁶ the use of ad hoc task forces for problem-

solving and decision-making; and the use of committees for the selection and recommendation of a library director.³⁷

Perhaps the approach closest to self-governance has been the adoption of a collegial organization by some academic librarians. Collegial governance presumes that librarians will establish policies concerning themselves and their work and will conduct their own affairs, often through committees and usually according to a constitution.

PARTICIPATION AND EQUITY IN LIBRARIES

Unlike industry, where participation has been introduced because of management's perceived need to increase production, decrease costs and improve the quality of working life, participation in libraries is usually introduced in response to librarians' demands for a larger role in the decisions which affect their professional lives. Equity, when it occurs, appears to be a byproduct of the participation process. Some examples from the literature support this conclusion. For instance, Galloway³⁸ describes the procedure used at the University of Louisville to select a new library director. This is a good illustration of participation's potential for reducing power differentials, in this case between the library faculty and the university administration, and in all likelihood between the library faculty and the newly selected director. At no point, however, is this recognized as an advantage of the selection process.

In a second example, Yeh³⁹ describes the use of peer evaluation at Central Washington State College to determine promotions and merit increases. The faculty members evaluated each other in terms of five criteria: professional effectiveness, scholarship, personal qualities, special services, and professional activities. These evaluations were then summarized by a committee which made the recommendations for promotion and salary increases. The author notes that women received fewer recommendations for promotion, even from other women, because they had fewer advanced degrees and scholarly activities. This is interesting because the advanced degree (beyond the terminal MLS) was not a promotion criterion, and only the lack of scholarship (i.e. publications) — one item out of five — should have influenced the vote. This report appears to indicate that inequity can occur even with participation and objective criteria.

Articles such as Christofferson's, which describe the use of participation and affirmative action procedures for screening and selecting new librarians, contain little information on the effectiveness of the process beyond the comments that "this large selection team insures that no individual's

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prejudices will dominate the hiring process" and that "we are getting better candidates."⁴⁰

Drawing on what little exists in the library literature and on personal experience in participation in library affairs, including the search and screen committee, it seems unlikely that participation as an alternate form of library governance can ensure equity for minority and women librarians. This conclusion is supported by the observation that the collegial form of governance used by teaching faculties has not made the acceptance of women and minorities into faculty life easier, and may, in fact, have hindered it. Nevertheless, participation and equal employment opportunity legislation, like the proverbial carrot and stick (the law to grab attention and the rewards of participation — increases in job satisfaction, morale, feelings of achievement and self-actualization — to keep it), have the potential for creating an environment where equity can flourish.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Although the literature on participation in libraries grows daily, it appears to be deficient in two areas. First, there is little hard data on the types of problems and decisions which participation faces in actual situations; and second, only a few attempts have been made to evaluate the quality of the solutions found and decisions made by participatory methods. There is also a need to know more about how to use participation to bring about desired changes such as increased equity. To this end, a series of small studies examining the composition of participatory groups in libraries might be useful. For example, is equity less likely when a committee is composed of three high-status males and one low-status black female? What happens when a search and selection team consists of three high-status men, a high-status woman and a low-status feminist? Do elected committees function better, more independently, than appointed groups?

A number of other questions should be asked and answered. What is the role of the larger institution within which many libraries function? Does it assist or hinder library attempts to provide equity? How would the achievement of equity, with its emphasis on the recruitment and promotion of minorities and women, affect the status of the profession?

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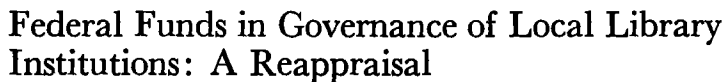
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AN ESSENTIAL ASPECT of the appraisal — or reappraisal — of federal funds for local libraries must include some judgment on its impact. The impact of federal dollars on local library institutions — the word *local* here refers to any political jurisdiction below the federal level, i.e. region, state, county, municipality — reveals no clear pattern. In fact, with few exceptions, the literature is practically nonexistent on this issue. There are, of course, numerous published statements on the necessities of federal support; however, these tend to make the unsubstantiated assertion that, on balance, the role of the federal government has been essential to the development of library services.

The central questions relevant to the federal government's role in supporting libraries were asked by President Lyndon Johnson in an executive order issued in 1966. As a result of the order, the National Advisory Commission on Libraries was created to answer, among others, the following questions: Are our federal efforts to assist libraries intelligently administered, or are they too fragmented among separate programs and agencies? Are we getting the most benefit from the taxpayer's dollar spent? The commission was to assist the president's committee on libraries to:

- a. make a comprehensive study and appraisal of the role of libraries . . . as components of the evolving national information system;
- b. appraise the policies, programs, and practices of public agencies, and private institutions and organizations, together with other factors, which have a bearing on the role and effective utilization of libraries;
- c. appraise library funding, including federal support of libraries, to determine how funds available for the construction and support of

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libraries and library services can be more effectively and efficiently utilized; and

- d. develop recommendations for action by government or private institutions and organizations designed to ensure an effective and efficient library system for the nation.¹

The world events following 1966 led to a political environment which naturally placed little priority on the pursuit of the answers to the questions which President Johnson had posed to the commission. This result unfortunately has meant that the profession in 1977 remains unable to provide adequate answers to these questions. This writer believes that until they are answered through systematic empirical analysis, the role and impact of federal funds on local libraries will remain very unclear.*

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

The historical roots of federal government involvement in supporting libraries are well covered in the literature, but the details of that involvement are beyond the purview of this article.² The first significant piece of federal legislation was the Library Services Act (LSA), an ALA-sponsored bill first presented to Congress in 1946 and eventually enacted in 1956. LSA and all succeeding pieces of federal library legislation, with one exception, were the direct result of ALA's activities in its relationship with Congress. As Molz notes, "With the exception of the Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965, all library legislation (other than laws relating directly to the federal library establishment) has remained outside the mainstream of presidential and executive-branch endorsement."³

It is important to understand that the original intent of LSA, as a categorical aid program, was to stimulate the states to act on behalf of their own constituents. The program was not intended to be an ongoing federal subvention to libraries; rather, as Molz⁴ and others have noted, the opposite was true. Federal monies were thus intended to "incite" additional funds from the states on a matching ratio formula, presumably based on the state's fiscal capacity and the submission of a state plan.

It is impossible to document in writing (although it was confirmed in private conversations), yet ALA was able to negotiate a compromise in the interpretation of the state's requirement for the matching ratio, i.e. the states could calculate the use of local funds and count state library

* I am indebted to my colleague at Rutgers, Ralph Blasingame, for his conceptual contributions to this article. As State Librarian of Pennsylvania during the early stages of federal funding and, later, as Treasurer of the American Library Association, he gained insights which were of invaluable assistance.

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personnel toward matching federal dollars. Despite this liberal interpretation, the states have generally been unable to increase substantially the amount of state dollars available to their local political jurisdictions. The fiscal picture remains basically unchanged more than twenty years after the initial introduction of the federal legislation. Today, local expenditures for public libraries constitute about 81 percent of total expenditures, another 12 percent from the states, with the remaining approximately 7 percent coming from the federal government. It must be noted that these percentages are means or averages, and distort the total effort when one looks at all fifty states. Relatively few states account for most of the funds coming from the federal government—a condition most important in assessing the role (and intent) of federal intervention in the support of local libraries.

In 1965 major federal legislation affecting school and college libraries was enacted by Congress. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 authorized \$100 million to be spent by the states for school library resources. In the same year the college library was provided with its own identifiable source of federal funds by the Higher Education Act of 1965. As Mathews argues, "By 1966 then, the role of the federal government in the support of libraries of all types had been well established."⁵

THE IMPACT OF FEDERAL MONIES

It would be ludicrous to deny the need to receive increased financial support perceived by librarians from all types of libraries. In this respect, federal support of libraries has, symbolically at least, served the useful purpose of reducing these needs. That federal funds have had modest success in activating state response and state-local funding systems for libraries does not render irrelevant the central question: Has the impact of federal monies in the governance of local library institutions been, on the whole, both positive and beneficial for the continued growth and development of libraries as critical agencies in the dissemination and handling of information?

The inability of the library to establish itself as the critical agency in the acquisition, handling and dissemination of information, in the sense that the public school is critical to the educational process, obviously precludes federal intervention. Nevertheless, while the states today pay for approximately 50 percent of the educational bill, they assume only about 12 percent of the cost of libraries. Given the intent behind the inception of federal legislation, it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the impact has been minimal in this regard. In fact, the economic events since

1968 and the end of the "Camelot era," have slowly awakened the profession to the reality that the economy will be one of slow growth for the foreseeable future. At the same time, the financial plight of libraries has dramatically worsened. Innumerable "get-well" schemes have been offered, with each local governance level looking to the larger level (state or federal) to solve the problem of scarce dollars. Why, then, has the federal impact been so slight?

One of the few probing articles concerned with the role of the federal government on local library growth and development was written by Joseph Shubert.⁶ Shubert observed in 1975 that after eighteen years, an evaluation of the accomplishments of LSCA was yet to be made.⁷ In looking at the provisions of LSCA, Shubert found that most state library agencies were heavily dependent on federal monies for normal operations:

Any careful reader of statehouse news knows that state administrations and legislatures generally seek maximum federal funds in any program, with minimum state matching funds. State library agencies have generally found the matching fund requirements and interpretations given by the U.S.O.E. of little help in securing the funds needed at the state level.⁸

In June 1973 a "Group of Concerned Citizens" issued a statement on behalf of the National Book Committee entitled: "The Crisis in Our National Library System."⁹ This statement is important, for it beautifully illustrates — through grand rhetoric — the role of assertion in attempting to shape and influence national library policy. These citizens claimed that: "federal funds have provided the stimulation and the means for *extended services*, for *new ventures*, for *coordination* of activities, for *enriched programs* and *innovative materials*"; that "federal funds are just beginning to provide the basis for a nationally linked system"; and that "the national interest cannot be allowed to rest on scattered, parochial and unpredictable local actions."¹⁰ The last two quotations in particular crisply highlight some of the unwarranted assumptions which underlie the recommendations of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) for a national or super-information network; they also reveal a fundamental misunderstanding of constitutional law. In the first instance, the assumption is made that a "nationally linked system" in fact already exists. A more persuasive argument can be made, however, that a nationally linked information system has never existed in this country. Further, one can argue that federal and state monies, which have assumed the existence of "system," have retarded rather than extended li-

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brary system development. (The writer will return to this point.) In the second instance, the statement fails to recognize the historical evolution of the library as being grounded, as it was and is, in the tradition of local autonomy.¹¹ Our obsession with "home rule" has been so great that any attempt to erode it has usually met with great political resistance.

If one looks at the consequences of federal funding on the governance of local library institutions, it should be of little surprise to find no clear pattern. The situation varies greatly from place to place and from state to state, uniquely reflecting the prerogatives of a federal form of government deeply rooted in the notion of home rule. That the states and local municipalities (and schools and colleges as well) should open their arms to embrace additional monies — from whatever source — would shock the purist. That these same individuals would equally resist the opportunity to share such resources through some kind of coordinated, mutually dependent system should also surprise the purist. For a rich, descriptive expression of such diverse points of view on the best way to use federal monies to provide library services, one need only read at random the volume of testimony presented before NCLIS in their regional hearings.¹²

A 1974 study for NCLIS concluded:

In almost two decades of operation since the direct involvement of the Federal government, the present system has not produced an effective development and distribution of public library services. The distribution of costs among the levels and jurisdictions of government is *inequitable* and is a prime deterrent to the progressive development of a public library system responsive to the informational-educational-cultural needs of a modern society. (emphasis added)¹³

Such a finding should cause the profession to reflect and to redirect some of its energies in exploring the reasons for the essentially dismal state of affairs. In effect, the underlying assumptions that have been made in the move to involve larger units of government in the support of local libraries need to be questioned. In any event, it should be no surprise to find that the best predictor of strong library programs is not wealth, but aggressive leadership.¹⁴ In other words, a national library policy has done little to modify the historical antecedents of our federal form of government.

The most important observation of the 1974 NCLIS report (and, by implication, its negative assessment of past national library policy) centered on the practical political constraints of federal, state and local governmental relationships. The structure of social values and matters of economic equity and efficiency must be given serious deliberation in

choices among options for fiscal support of public libraries.¹⁵ The authors of the study observed:

The legislation projects neither the concept nor the urging of a Federal role in developing and maintaining a program of public library services designed to meet the informational, educational, and cultural needs of an industrialized nation. Other weaknesses include the authorization-appropriations gap, the inefficiency of "floor" or minimum grants to each state, and the absence of clout in evaluating and administering the state plan requirement. These weaknesses, coupled with the fact that the level of Federal funding, historically and currently, under the Act has been nowhere near the level required to constitute a viable intergovernmental partnership for public library development, give rise to serious questions on future performance.¹⁶

The fuzziness of federal library policy is also evident when viewed from the broad perspective of general informational needs. A report published by NCLIS in 1975 has pointed out that there is no statute prescribing policies of guidelines for individual federal agencies to follow regarding use of the private sector in disseminating information which they produce. It further noted that there is no central location for executive responsibility in government to which private organizations or government agencies can turn for policy clarification.¹⁷

IMPACT AT THE STATE AND LOCAL LEVEL

The impact of a confused federal policy on local governance can, of course, be seen best at the state and local levels. In a recently completed dissertation, Charles Curran has concluded that the basic weakness of the New Jersey State Library Plan was the imposition from "above" of a system on a nonsystem.¹⁸ He finds little evidence to show a positive relationship between the state plan and library growth and development.

Essentially, the New Jersey plan, typical of most state plans, has failed to recognize the need for and provision of the "administration" of the system. In other words, state library agencies have been unable, for whatever reasons, to provide the regulatory authority necessary to ensure that the provisions of state (and federal) aid are carried out in a manner consistent with the intent of existing legislation.¹⁹ The absence of such a coordinated policy has meant that the local political jurisdictions, vying for multiple sources of income, have been able to take any course of action deemed necessary without fear of negative consequences from either the state or federal governments.

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The plight of the county library in New Jersey, literally grasping for its survival, provides a rich account of the perils of ill-conceived library policy. The county library was historically envisioned as a minisystem providing library services to the residents of the various municipalities located within the county boundaries. For that service, the "locals" paid a service fee, usually on a per-capita basis, to the larger (county) jurisdiction. Municipalities in New Jersey counties which have established municipal libraries under R.S. 40:54-1 et seq., however, are exempt areas, and therefore pay no taxes in support of the county library unless they specifically elect also to become county member libraries — a rare situation.

Because county services are also provided by other federal- and state-supported system services, more and more New Jersey municipalities are contemplating county-exempt status. The competition for sources of income among various political jurisdictions (local, county, state and federal) has caused the largest county library in the state to claim that it will have to close its doors unless it receives new funding from a proposed countywide tax.²⁰ Because the will to survive is so great, past history is often a poor guide to current practice. Thus, once again in response to a perceived crisis, the county library, on an ad hoc basis, has moved to the larger political jurisdiction to resolve the crisis. In this particular instance, the county has convinced its state legislators to introduce a special bill which would grant the county the power to include the library in the county budget, and thus mandate all of the municipalities within the county to support the county library.²¹

In the kind of legislative scramble described above, local leaders spend little time analyzing the broader library issues, nor do they tend to care much about the notion of the larger library and information network which will improve information access for more and more citizens. Certainly, those who worked so hard for the federal (and state) support of libraries did not anticipate, or sell the program on the basis, that federal and/or state monies would be used to bail out a local library financial crisis.

In 1970 Blasingame and DeProspero argued that "the system hierarchy (federal, state, regional, and local levels) too often is at odds with itself."²² The absence of a cohesive theory and controls at the state level has manifested itself in a series of indiscriminate decisions, most notably in the disbursement of limited resources to the regional and local public library systems without provision for feedback mechanisms. At the regional and local levels, librarians have been given little guidance in preparing themselves for the rapid changes and increasing demands of our society.

A recent report in *American Libraries* further illustrates the need for a sound, empirically-based federal library policy. It would appear there is no longer any pretense that federal monies were simply to provide an incentive for state and local funding — nor that once it had accomplished this task, the federal government should get out of the library business (apparently Richard Nixon took the original sponsors of LSA at their word). The largest urban libraries have proposed an LSCA amendment — Title V to LSCA — that would funnel acquisition funds through the states to public libraries serving cities with population over 100,000. The Urban Libraries Council is asking \$60 million for the first year.²³ Unlike the plea of the Concerned Citizens group in 1973, which saw federal monies being used for essentially innovative programs, our big-city libraries are requesting state and federal monies for their “gut” resources — acquisitions.

Assuming that Title V becomes a reality, there has been no documented discussion on the governance implications if the federal (and state) government becomes the primary funding source for the public library's book budget. Will there be, for example, a mandated policy of coordinated acquisitions? What degree of autonomy, if any, will the local library institution have to forfeit for such higher-level governmental support? On what basis will the local library institution be held accountable for its decisions in the expenditures of federal and state funds? Will there be a serious concern for equalization?

FEDERAL POLICY WITHOUT POLICY CONSIDERATION

Molz has noted that federal library legislation is loosely clustered around a central context of extending and improving library services in general. The legislation addresses itself to specific types of libraries. In contrast to federal public school legislation, which identifies specific client groups, federal library programs are focused on the requirements of an institutional constituency comprising school, public and academic libraries.²⁴ The point made by Molz is especially important in light of President Johnson's charge in 1966 to examine the impact of federal funds on local libraries. Presumably, his questions were somewhat concerned with whether user needs were being better met; however, the proceedings of a conference on the information needs of various user groups in the United States concluded that the gap was growing rather than narrowing. The conference participants placed hope for improvement on an enlarged national library network, buttressed by the public library.²⁵

The major thrust of this article is that the financial support of libraries

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by the federal government became a policy without the benefit of a systematic, in-depth analysis so crucial for guidelines necessary for implementing that policy, i.e. policy without policy consideration.

The time is opportune for a reappraisal of federal funding. Not only is there a new administration in Washington, but hearings are now being held by the House Select Subcommittee on Education on extension of the Library Services and Construction Act. Unless action is taken by Congress this year, LSCA will have expired on September 30, 1977. It seems to this writer that significant to continuation of federal monies is the reconsideration of the purposes of such support. For example, it can be argued that the federal government has no business funding libraries unless, through ongoing monitoring, top priority is given to the concern for equalization.

For a variety of reasons, federal support both has limited and has advanced financial support for libraries of all kinds. On one hand, there is little doubt that federal dollars were (and are) an important incentive to increase support at the local level. It is becoming increasingly clear, however, that local library institutions view the federal government as the solution to their financial woes. Few library leaders have taken the time to examine seriously the implications, conditions, and consequences of library intergovernmental partnership. For example, how will the strong libraries accommodate their "weaker" partners?

The absence of serious policy consideration tended to obfuscate, if not ignore, the inherent dangers and complexities associated with institutions dependent on funding from multiple governmental sources. The plight of the county library in New Jersey is just one example. The generous interpretation of "matching funds," as another example, resulted in very uneven library growth from state to state. One result has been that those state librarians who were so inclined lost much leverage in their political battles to upgrade the level of state and local support for libraries. This loss of political leverage weakened, for those who wanted such a role, the state library's efforts to become a truly regulatory agency.

As Joeckel noted in 1935, to use the word *system*, in the sense of a public library system, is decidedly misleading. Joeckel further observed that the forces of local effort and initiative—the basis for public library growth—have very nearly reached the limit of their power to extend library service. As if he were writing today, Joeckel then noted:

Meanwhile, the forces supporting a collectivist philosophy for libraries in general, and larger units in particular, are organizing and gathering strength at an accelerating pace. They are faced with many practical

difficulties, both in their future relations to government and in their relations to the library as an institution.²⁶

What, then, should be the role of the federal government to the library as an institution? Molz sees three fundamental concerns: "the support of policy research; the financing of systematic experimentation, and the furtherance of interlibrary and interinstitutional cooperation."²⁷ In this writer's judgment, the last two concerns are inconsequential compared to the concern first stated—support of policy research. The success or failure of future courses of action, whatever the nature of the action, will largely depend on the absence or presence of carefully conducted policy-value research. It should be obvious by now that simple assertion or uncritical advocacy is neither sufficient nor adequate for the development of sound library policy. Greater effort must be made both to question the unwarranted assumptions relative to the issue of library financing and then to enlist the best minds to work on solving some of the important challenges to sound library development and growth.

During the presidential campaign, Jimmy Carter issued a potentially significant statement on libraries. That statement may contain the basis for a modified federal library policy:

We need a new, revitalized effort to save our libraries to make them strong bastions against illiteracy and ignorance.

This is not simply a matter of more federal support, although that will help. In libraries as in other areas, we need efficiency and sound management of our limited resources. We need to organize our library services so that they can effectively serve the public. We need to coordinate federal help for libraries so that the assistance reaches those who need it and so that waste and duplication are eliminated.²⁸

The entire statement by President Carter is important. First, it indicates that he pays close attention to his campaign statements. Second, the statement acknowledges both directly and indirectly the inadequacies of past federal policy toward libraries. It remains up to the profession as a whole to see if sound strategy and purposeful tactics emerge which will reflect a new and exciting era for library growth and development.

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THIS PAPER EXAMINES the governance of national libraries at the federal level. In other words, it describes some significant processes and mechanisms of policy formulation and resource allocation in federal libraries and other agencies with information services and products which have impact on national constituencies. This is not a comprehensive review of federal agencies; rather, it is an examination of a variety of national libraries and information services at the federal level, conducted by reviewing published documents and by talking with key persons in selected agencies. Discussions with agency personnel focused on services provided to national constituencies, and explored the processes by which decisions and policies are made within the agency and by which external influences are brought to bear upon policies. Both internal and external factors were also examined, which support or inhibit the development of services.

There is no such thing as "a Federal policy" governing the services given by the Government to nonfederal libraries, because the policy of

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each Federal agency expresses the individual nature, function, and tradition of that agency. When one considers Federal libraries, the problem is further complicated by the fact that since the library's duty is to serve the parent agency, its policies in turn are affected by changes in the policy and organization of the parent agency.¹

Throughout the intervening years, there have been various calls for coordinated library and information policies at the federal level, and there have been a number of attempts to develop coordinating mechanisms. For the present, however, it is important to note that there is still no coordinated federal policy governing library and information service to the nation. Today, as was the situation in 1954, it is within the context of each agency's mission that an examination of the governance of federal library and information service must take place.

POLICY-MAKING AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION PROCESSES

Policy may be initiated in the Congress or in any agency in the government, and it must finally be made legitimate by an act of Congress. Resources required to conduct programs are determined by the executive branch and independent agencies. Appropriation of resources and, in many cases, allocations for specific projects must have congressional approval. Thus, both cooperation and conflict between executive and legislative branches is possible. The resolution of such conflict imparts political overtones to the formal resource allocation process. The Constitution provides formal mechanisms for resolution of conflict between the executive and legislative branches of the government: Congress initiates programs; the executive may veto them; Congress may override the veto; the executive may affect the implementation by such actions as delay, impoundment of funds, idiosyncratic interpretations of intent, and the establishment of guidelines for agency and citizen action. When programs are initiated by the executive, congressional support must be mustered to turn the program proposals into public laws and to acquire authorization for expenditures and for the yearly financial support required. Again, Congress has the ultimate power and may be involved in several steps of the policy-making process, i.e. when policy approval is sought and during appropriation deliberations to obtain funds for programs to implement policies that have already been approved.

This generalized description applies to all federal agency activities. It is significant for library and information policy at the federal level, because agencies can offer national library services only with congressional

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and executive branch agreement that such programs will be supported. The expectation that a federal agency will respond to national planning efforts, either imposed from within or initiated outside the government, is unwarranted unless both Congress and the executive branch can agree on three things: (1) the basic policy, (2) the authorization of funds to carry it out, and (3) the regular appropriations for programs to implement the policy.

Within this context, then, how are policy issues and statements derived and decisions made on the requests for funding and allocations for resources? At the outset of any policy or program idea, policy formulation is largely a matter of the sensitivity of federal officials, including cabinet officers and members of Congress, to constituent needs. Influence on policy and program decisions comes from a variety of sources — members of Congress and their staffs, government officials, agency managers, constituents, and consumer groups. Attempts to influence decisions at the federal level include processes which are traditional (e.g., lobbying) and those which have legal status (e.g., testifying on rule-making subsequent to legal announcement of hearings in the *Federal Register*). The impact of these influences on the formulation of policies is strongly tempered by the political, personal, and institutional priorities of the Congress, the president, the Cabinet and agency chief administrators.

The procedure for allocation of appropriated resources within a federal agency is as follows. General budgetary guidelines are provided to federal agencies by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), an agency of the Office of the President of the United States. These guidelines may include statements of priorities and mechanisms for planning, such as the establishment of budgetary ceilings and targets for agency fiscal requests. Presumably these guidelines reflect preliminary planning at the Cabinet level.

Although procedures within agencies for the preparation of budgets vary, they usually require that the heads of major units prepare budget estimates and justifications. These statements proceed through the agency hierarchy to the chief administrator's office, where decisions are made about kinds and amounts of resources to be sought. The agency budget then goes to Congress through OMB. At the same time, Congress, in a newly established process, works on its own budget and fiscal policy statements, so that congressional appropriations and oversight committees can respond in a coordinated way to the administration's budget request.

Congress holds hearings in both the House and the Senate during which agency heads, sometimes accompanied by lower-level managers, explain

and defend their requests. Congress establishes both personnel and fiscal limits for each agency, and often for functions within agencies. These congressional decisions are returned to the agency through OMB. Agencies then allocate their appropriated resources. Major changes in plans at the agency level must be approved by Congress, again working through OMB. As the process proceeds through the organizational structure of the agency, unit managers have varying degrees of freedom in the use of their allotments. The absolute guides are the congressionally determined ceilings on the number of positions and amount of funds to be applied.

It is not possible to generalize about the role of federal libraries in agency policy-making and resource allocation processes because there is no uniformity to their location among the federal departmental hierarchies — nor is there even stability of organizational arrangement within agencies. Some federal libraries report to top-level assistant secretaries for administration, some to research managers, some to personnel officers. Few, if any, report directly to the secretary or head of the department.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES ON POLICY-MAKING AND RESOURCE ALLOCATION

It is significant that policy-making and resource allocation do not require input from agencies or individuals outside of the federal government. In reviewing program requests, Congress may invite citizens and special interest groups to offer testimony at hearings, but it is not required to do so. The existence of formal mechanisms for input from nongovernmental sources into this policy-making process is limited, and varies among library and information services at the federal level. The National Library of Medicine (NLM) has a formally established board of regents which reports to the secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Members of the board are presidential appointees confirmed by the Senate. The purpose of the board is to advise on policies affecting the National Library of Medicine.

The Library of Congress (LC) has several liaison committees, including a committee of representatives from the major library associations in the United States. These groups, however, are not regularly or formally involved in the decision-making process at LC. The recently completed review of the structure and policies of LC, which has been released in the *Report to the Librarian of Congress from the Task Force on Goals, Organization, and Planning*, discusses the desirability of establishing a board of advisors to the Librarian of Congress to "assist the Library in articulating and fulfilling its national responsibilities."²

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In general, interaction between local constituents and national library and information service agencies tends to be informal, that is, not mandated by legislation or established as a part of the administrative structure of the agency. For example, the Department of Defense has formed Regional User Groups to aid in making management decisions affecting users of the services of its Defense Documentation Center. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has established a number of user groups in its facilities, and it systematically solicits information about NASA products and services. More recently, the Federation of Information Users has been created to assist in the formation of other user groups. Such groups are needed, as one spokesman has said, because: "the fact remains that data bases, information packages, and information systems are created with little or no input from the user. In turn audits and evaluations of the systems are controlled by the vendor."³

The National Library of Medicine has informal relationships with the Medical Library Association (MLA) through an MLA liaison group. Changes in NLM services which have impact on the medical library community are discussed with the liaison group. This process, unlike the previously described board of regents, is informal. The National Agriculture Library (NAL) works closely with its network of land grant universities in attempts to gather support for its programs through this network and maintains informal contact with the National Association of Land Grant Colleges.

The Library of Congress, like NAL and NLM, interacts informally with professional and constituent groups. For example, the Library of Congress works closely with the Heads of Technical Services of Large Research Libraries and with the MARC Users Discussion Group in ALA. The Library of Congress has also turned to the Association of Research Libraries for advice, e.g., with the National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging (NPAC).

When faced with the need to make a decision on the policy and allocation of resources for the expansion of its MARC services, LC's actions are typical of its interaction with the outside world. LC established an advisory committee widely representative of the library world, including computer-based cataloging system personnel, ALA officials, individual librarians and technical experts. The study resulted in a decision, supported by the advisory committee, to expand MARC to cover current literature in more languages rather than to devote resources to retrospective conversion of older records in the LC catalog. LC's further response was also typical of an agency which does not have a mandate to perform services for a

national constituency. LC urged the library community to bring pressure on Congress to increase the LC budget for expansion of MARC, rather than taking the initiative itself to raise the issue of national need in its budget request to Congress.

Several other developments demonstrate LC's interactions with the library community in response to national library needs. The assistant to the Librarian for Network Development has formed the Network Development Advisory Committee to assist in planning the possible configurations of a national library network, and to develop strategies for proceeding with national network planning. The group includes major library networks and other planning groups. LC has also agreed to undertake the management of a center for a national periodical system, but unlike the network planning effort, initiative to create this system was taken by the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS). As presently conceived, the national center would have an advisory committee of representatives from the library community.

Although it may be desirable to establish formal advisory mechanisms, federal agencies cannot formally create such advisory committees with impunity. In the past such advisory groups have been created with little review of their costs and contributions, and they have tended to proliferate. In order to limit and bring some order to this, Congress passed the Federal Advisory Committee Act (P.L. 42-463) in 1972. The act creates a system for the establishment and operation of groups such as committees, boards, commissions, councils, conferences, panels, taskforces, and whatever else they might be called. The law applies both to the executive and legislative branches of the government. It requires OMB to review annually the work and continued need for each advisory committee. No advisory committee can be established unless it is specifically authorized by the president or by an agency head. Furthermore, it must be determined that the committee's establishment is in the public interest and that it is needed to carry out the lawfully prescribed duties of the agency which created it. The agencies must consult with OMB and publish a timely notice of the formation of advisory groups in the *Federal Register*. All advisory groups are subject to a sunset provision, that is, they must cease operation after two years unless they are specifically renewed by the president or agency head.

LEGISLATIVE MANDATE

The impact of a congressional mandate on the governance of library and information service is significant. Congress is the ultimate authority

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for approval of policy affecting federal agency programs and for funds for these programs; therefore, the viability of national library and information services and the acceptability of funding requests is best achieved through the attainment from Congress of a mandate to offer a national service.

It has become routine for acts of Congress which establish mission-oriented programs to contain requirements for the development of information services to assist in achieving mission objectives. For example, the Department of Commerce operates the National Technical Information Service as directed by federal law⁴ in order to disseminate technical information in support of the development of American industry. Similarly, NASA is mandated to serve the information needs of NASA and its contractors. Within its mandate NASA has defined a relatively homogeneous constituency which in the past has enjoyed a high priority among federal programs. Fifteen laws passed in 1974 alone call for the establishment of science and technology information services. This has resulted in increased dispersion of the development and management of information activities among many government agencies.

The only congressionally mandated national library is the National Library of Medicine. This mandate is extremely important in the development and effectiveness of NLM services to the nation. In contrast, the library of the Department of Agriculture has been designated a "national library" only by the secretary of agriculture. The fact that Congress has not mandated that the National Agriculture Library be a national library contributes to the difficulty which NAL has had in acquiring the funds necessary to develop activities beyond those which support the staff of the department. Although the department has given at least intellectual recognition of the national importance of the NAL, Congress will not appropriate sufficient funds and positions to support a national service.

The Smithsonian Science Information Exchange (SSIE), which maintains records of ongoing research, has never been able to secure the legislative mandate which would recognize it as a national depository of such information. Without such a mandate the activities of the agency are limited and its data base is incomplete. Agencies which do deposit information in the SSIE files do so voluntarily.

The Library of Congress, as noted, has no congressional mandate to function as a national library, although for years LC has performed many national library functions on a *de facto* rather than a *de jure* basis. Presumably Congress has supported LC's national activities on the recognition that the vast collections of LC are a national resource which should

be made available to the nation. Since the recent change in top leadership, the Library of Congress has assumed more initiative in its role as a national library agency, but does so still out of sense of national responsibility and not because of a legislated requirement to do so.

COORDINATION

As noted earlier, library activity at the federal level is dispersed through many agencies. A characteristic response to this situation is to call for the establishment of coordinating mechanisms aimed at reducing conflict, overlap, and diversity. The need for a comprehensive and coordinated information policy is greater now than in the past. The issues have become more complex with the advent of what has been called the "information age." Traditional concerns, such as intellectual freedom and the protection of intellectual property, have assumed new and seemingly more urgent dimensions, in part because of the advent of computer and communications technology. New federal actions are required in a number of areas, such as: (1) to protect the investment of the existing suppliers of information and computer service, (2) to open access to information vital to the solution of social problems, and (3) to protect the privacy of individuals.

Dealing at the federal level with these and other social issues is all the more difficult because their dimensions do not neatly conform to current federal organizational structure. It is impossible to assign clearly the task of developing national policy in one or another aspect of the library and information services at the federal level. Furthermore, both a statement of policy in almost any aspect of information service and the development of programs to promote it usually have a potential impact far beyond the issue which they were meant to address.

A recent study by Becker for the National Science Foundation recommends that a new central locus of responsibility be established to formulate science information policy at the national level.⁵ Although this may conflict with the mission of NCLIS, it would certainly not be the first such example of the establishment of agencies with competing roles. Becker singles out the new Office of Science and Technology Policy as the appropriate locus for this responsibility. The proposed agency would prepare policy statements which, however, would be only advisory.

There are other proposals relating to organization and governance of information policy at the federal level which call for the establishment of centralized and high-level agencies to monitor and coordinate activities and to advise the White House and Congress of the need for information

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policy and programs. The president's Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy for example, has recommended the establishment of an office of information policy within the executive branch and the establishment of an interagency council on information policy to be chaired by the director of the office of information policy.⁶ This report also recommends the creation of an advisory committee, including both government and private individuals representing the private sector, state and local government, academic and professional disciplines. Another of its proposals, to create a department of communications on the cabinet level, is more radical. The reorganization of existing governmental departments that would be required in order to create a department of communications might lead to such potentially destructive or enervating influences that achievement of the mission would become extremely difficult.

Another study for the National Science Foundation on options for national action in scientific and technical information service assumes that individual agencies will continue to be the focal point for the responsibility for direction and control of information activities. The report, therefore, recommends the creation of a federal agency coordinating group to promote integrated program development and operation. The group would include representatives from federal agencies which conduct national information services and from those agencies involved with planning, such as NCLIS. It also recommends the establishment of an information policy board to develop policy for the president. The board would be supported by advisory committees of "stakeholders" in the nation's scientific and technical information enterprise from both the public and private sectors.⁷

There do exist at least two active agencies which may perform some coordinating roles in national library service. One is the Federal Library Committee. As an example of its coordinating potential, the Federal Library Committee administers the federal library on-line cataloging network (FEDLINK). It has also produced a consolidated statement of federal library collection specialties. The second existing agency which has coordinating responsibility is NCLIS. Its program statement emphasizes its planning and coordinating role, which indeed is mandated to the commission by the Congress. The program statement clearly recognizes the dispersion of policy formulation at the federal level for library and information service, and recommends that the agencies that are or might become involved in achieving goals for a national program should continue their activity. The NCLIS program statement restates equally clearly the commission's central role in the development and recommendation of

plans and in advising appropriate government agencies on policy: "In the proposed national program, the Commission would exercise its responsibility through the development of national policy, coordination of existing programs and creation of existing programs as appropriate."⁸ To date, however, NCLIS has not attempted to undertake this role and there continues to be a vacuum in the coordination of federal library and information policy.

The governance of national library and information services is principally contained within federal agencies. There are no constitutional and few legislated requirements for constituents' input to the processes of determining national policy, program development and management control, except for the basic democratic process of elections and the "advise and consent" relationship between the executive and legislative branches of the government for the appointment of administrators at the policy level. The determination of national policy is a political process: citizen input and influence is diffused and has limited potential for visibility. Decisions on policy and program, even at detailed levels of development, are ultimately of congressional provenance. The manner in which policies are executed is the role of the president and his administration.

At more specific levels of operation, federal administrators (including agency department heads, such as librarians and information officers) work more closely, albeit usually informally, with the communities they serve. In many instances these people are active members of their professions. In the most critical incidents they rely heavily on ad hoc advisory groups from within the profession.

Whether or not a federal agency can offer a service to a national constituency is largely a matter of the mission of the agency and the mandate given it by Congress. If the objectives of its mission can best be served, at least in part, by national information activities, such a program will be developed. If the agency has no mandate to offer a national library or information service, its library will be largely devoted to the support of the agency personnel; Congress and the administration will not be responsive to proposals for library service that meet a national need.

The nation has no coordinated, broad-scale national library and information policy, although there have been, and continue to be, pressures for its creation. There will soon be a White House Conference on Libraries. It will be a grassroots conference with widespread citizen involvement, first in state-level conferences, and then at the national level in 1979. The advisory committee for the conference has only a minority membership

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from the library and information science community. The goals of the conference will be to assess the national need and to promote an integrated local and national effort in both the public and private sectors to fill that need. Regardless of the potential for White House conferences to produce significant results, the process is vital because it places the first steps of national policy formation in the hands of the potential beneficiaries of the policy. Strong input from these people at this point may lead to constituent access to the governance processes at later stages of policy and program development.

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Governance of Library Networks

CHARLES H. STEVENS

AMONG THE MANY LIBRARY activities whose governance trends can be surveyed and analyzed, the library network is the most elusive. Network governance has not stabilized around a model, and no body of theory has emerged upon which a widespread practice can be built. To obtain any picture at all, one must (like some latter-day Edgerton with a stroboscopic flash) try to stop the action and by so doing illuminate the parts in order to determine a current trend. The danger is that such a view will appear skewed when seen from some later vantage—just as the prediction of adult moth behavior based on the observation of the adolescent caterpillar's lifestyle would be seriously awry.

By restricting the title words quite rigidly to the subject, the topic for discussion may be delimited. The word *library* needs no definition for readers of this journal. Its inclusion in the title eliminates the need for a disquisition on the governance of other networks—broadcast networks, telecommunication networks, or information networks, for example.

Networks—in the library context—have, however, been defined in a variety of ways. Sometimes the word denotes simply a cooperative arrangement between two or more libraries. In the context of this paper, a narrower definition incorporating some cognizance of the libraries themselves, as well as of the connective tissue between them, is preferred. A network, therefore, is defined as a formal organization of three or more autonomous organizations interconnected to achieve their common purposes through the joint use of communications and computer technology. Two libraries do not constitute a network, nor does a score of them unless advanced technology brings their resources together for improved user access. While the definition adopted for use here may exclude from consideration some thriving groups with the word *network* in their name, it is nonetheless the author's contention that this position is defensible.

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Governance is differentiated from administration as the law is distinct from the court. This paper focuses on the basis for operation, or basis governance. No attempt is made to deal with the application of that governance through the staff to day-to-day problems. Types and styles of governance will be illustrated and the strengths and constraints of each will be considered.

In his appraisal of "Information Network Prospects in the United States," Joseph Becker speaks of planning a network, and identifies the fundamental design considerations giving governance first consideration:

Participants should share a sense of common purpose, of course, but even more vital is their willingness to undertake legal, fiscal, and other contractual commitments to ensure and preserve the functional integrity of the network.

Examples of commitments that network participants may be called upon to make include: provision of materials and information services to the constituency served by other parts of the network on the same basis as that provided to its own constituency; maintenance of an agreed-upon level of service in terms of dollars and people; payment of a proportionate share of the expenses incurred in network operation; an understanding not to withdraw from the network without payment of penalties; and, agreement on the responsibilities of central network authority.¹

The article begins by examining the purpose of network governance. Types and examples of networks that have arisen and required governance at all levels of operation will be cited. Finally, consideration is given to some problems of network governance.

THE PURPOSE OF GOVERNANCE

Authors of recent literature covering library networking have been content to conclude that the problems of governance are important and that the solutions are multiform. There is more to say. It may be germane to begin by defending the proposition that network governance has an important purpose and that this purpose is not likely to change. That purpose is, of course, to provide a system under which orderly development can take place in the most effective way. As the introduction to this paper implies, governance is not only the set of documents establishing the network, nor is it solely the record of decisions and precedents set by the staff or membership. It is these, plus some combination of a written and

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adopted constitution and the body of experience developed to express the concepts in that charter.

The first function of library network governance is to set a direction for action. Through the establishment and adoption of a purpose, an objective, and a set of attainable goals, the autonomous participants in a joint enterprise begin to achieve unity in their undertaking. While goodwill is essential, it is most likely to flourish where there is an accurate written expression of the initial goals, which is regularly reviewed to determine current relevance to changing perceptions of needs, constraints and resources.

The second function of governance is to establish basic procedures for the activity. If the network members understand their joint purpose, recognize their current position, and identify the objective they wish to reach, governance charts the general route to be followed. Governance helps to avoid the perambulations that might otherwise occur. While governance may mark the route, it is the administrators who must deal with the daily chore of steering the operational vehicle and keeping close to that route.

Governance set forth and accepted gives the network stability in this orderly progression toward established objectives. Changes in operating personnel, however, invariably bring new views regarding established operating patterns. Although this is frequently useful and is always expected, differing methods of implementation — chosen by different administrators — will not divert the course of progress if the governance is sufficiently specific regarding the limits of acceptable action. In short, governance makes the library network an organization controlled by principles and not by persons.

Governance also protects the participants. The development of a library network will include the employment of persons and the purchase, lease or rental of equipment or facilities not previously held or required by any single member. Governance documentation can and should establish the basis for ownership, the limited responsibility of the participants, and the housing and care of network-owned property. This is important with regard to real estate and other tangible property; it is critical for matters concerning network-developed software and the machine-stored data base. Unless the participants can depend on governance that will establish and uphold their rights and privileges but limit their legal liability for subsequent support, a strong network is unlikely to emerge. Members must know in advance how initial costs will be amortized and how continuing

expenses will be divided. They must know, too, how the assets will be divided if the network is dissolved or absorbed into another organization. Are shares of ownership vested in the participant? Library networks embrace both public and private organizations. Each has its restraints or entangling alliances and will require satisfactory shelter from what would otherwise be seen as bibliographic or financial piracy. An acceptable governance arrangement also protects existing members from supporting, without just compensation, the membership benefits that will be enjoyed by those who could not or did not share the burden of creating the network.

Governance establishes an operating entity that can be recognized by others. This is essential if the library network is to receive grants, contracts or any funds or property from sources outside the network. Foundations and agencies of government have become wary of gifts and grants to individuals; therefore, the shelter of the corporate body or the chartered organization is favored as a more worthy recipient of trust.

Finally, governance establishes the standard by which library network effectiveness should be measured. The purpose, objectives and goals for each network will be differently stated and variously perceived by those who use them. The determination of effectiveness, however, cannot be made in the absence of the criteria set within the documents of governance. The measurement of progress toward an end can only be shown if the end is specified.

As long as cooperative organizations require the surrender of some autonomy on the part of members or participants, there will be a need for cohesive library governance. Critical problems of operation require a level of agreement whose enforcement could be taken to an appropriate court if necessary. Without established governance, at least one network has faltered over the seemingly trivial matter of cataloging standards to be mutually adopted for the machine-processed file of bibliographic entries. Although a governance agreement must be present, it alone cannot guarantee network success.

HISTORY OF DOMESTIC NETWORKS

There is a surfeit of papers available on the history of interlibrary cooperation including library networks. The coincidence of the centennial of the American Library Association with the U.S. bicentennial has given rise to a good deal of retrospective examination and a stirring of ashes. It is useful and interesting to the library historian; however, there is little

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to turn to in terms of antecedents for the library networks now abounding or aborning.

David Weber's excellent article "A Century of Cooperative Programs Among Academic Libraries" is an exception. It traces the century of footsteps leading toward library networks among university and college libraries. Governance was not the eye-catching feature of these network forerunners, but Weber cites some informal and formal arrangements as trend-setting examples:

An informal arrangement among several institutions constituted the Cooperating Libraries of Upper New York, CLUNY. Formed in 1931, it included Buffalo University, Colgate University, the Grosvenor Library, Hamilton College, Syracuse University, Cornell University, and Union College. This group functioned until 1939. . . .

An example of a formal agreement is the Duke University and the University of North Carolina interlibrary project. In 1931 these two institutions agreed to special book collecting areas, and the libraries exchanged author cards for their catalogs. Four years later a messenger service commenced. Two other North Carolina institutions joined in 1955. . . .

An example of contractual arrangements among several libraries is the Joint University Libraries founded in 1936 by Vanderbilt University, George Peabody College, and Scarritt College for Christian Workers. Operating under a joint board of trustees, the facility is an independent entity, jointly owned and financed by the participants. Another example is The Claremont Colleges library system which began in 1931 when a contractual arrangement among the Claremont Graduate School, Pomona College, and Scripps College, established a joint order and catalog department to serve the three libraries.

A 1933 example of an arrangement for reciprocal borrowing privileges is the Atlanta University Center Corporation in Atlanta, Georgia. . . .

Another variation of interinstitutional cooperation is the unification of academic libraries under state control. This was pioneered in 1932 by the Oregon State Board of Higher Education which appointed one director of libraries for the entire state system and established the principle of free circulation among all state institutions.²

Barriers to library cooperation and networking have had attention through several decades. In 1969 this was a major ALA conference topic. Governance of the network was mentioned as a key element. Reporting this session later, Don Redmond proposed seven conditions necessary for

a network to function. One of these was coordination, others were collegiality and consortia. All have elements of governance as he gives in his exegesis:

COORDINATION: The libraries must agree to march together. To do this they must almost inevitably agree upon a leader, or rather a coordinator, to keep them together. There is some possibility, or danger, that the university libraries, financed all by government, will have to accept a coordinator — whether by mutual agreement, or by fiat from above — if they cannot soon activate a network operation. . . .

COLLEGIALITY: This is one of those “in” words, very much in favor in the ivory-tower discussions of university and library administration these days. I think I can roughly but safely misconstrue it to mean the acceptance of decisions made by a group of colleagues — and that acceptance without endless bickering, without decision from above (that is, without hierarchical management).

CONSORTIA: Groups with common interests, who together fund and hold common title to an operation to reach a joint objective more economically than they could separately. The stumbling-block is always the diversity of interests, the overlapping fields of activity and resources, and to put it bluntly the *fear of each other* which exists among individuals in our universities. We cannot set up something for joint library service, these people are saying, which would slow down our own library service, which would take away anything from our own hoard. This is a risk we must take. It is an unwarranted fear. . . .³

TYPES OF GOVERNANCE

Library network governance divides conveniently into three categories: (1) governance by a government; (2) governance under a quasi-governmental body; and (3) governance by the membership under a legal charter and bylaws. The types have subclasses and species. In the discussion that follows, there is no attempt to be exhaustive, but rather to indicate through a diversity of examples the complexity of the total array.

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Governance by a government, for example, yields to a further natural separation of types by political or jurisdictional subdivisions. The differences between a library network operating at the national level and one operating at the state level are significant. There are also important similarities. When a library network is brought into being within any level of

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government, the founders can be quite certain that the opportunities for independent action will be sharply limited. The advent of a new agency is no longer an unexpected event, and the government within which it arises will have well-developed rules and regulations for every phase of its operating procedures. This condition is far from being wholly disadvantageous. Operation under a government body offers stability and a probable source of continuing funds, and it is a known quantity in terms of its operational characteristics. For certain library networks — those within the governmental structure — no other form of governance would be possible. Although individual libraries within the federal government might affiliate with an outside network to receive specified library services or to exchange access agreements for a class of library materials, there is no way that the library can accept the commitment or respond to the coercion that a nongovernmental library network might have to exercise. Because government libraries need networks as much as any group of libraries, one can expect many networks to come to light within and under the governance of government.

Networks of libraries can now be found in many of the principal agencies of the federal executive branch. Among the first agencies to use new technology in sharing services was the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Linking government facilities in Tennessee and Washington, D.C., and with contractors elsewhere, the commission's effort pulled together a literature service that had needed organization. Among the benefits shared by participants in this service were the publication of *Nuclear Science Abstracts* and the publication of reports on microfiche. The organizational program developing behind the scenes did not have at the time an explicit precedent. AEC libraries were given a secondary point of contact at the agency level. At the same time, formal and informal meetings of the information service personnel in the agency began to occur. Through these meetings and because of the increased interaction between the agency and AEC librarians, a government library network began to emerge. Its governance was to be found in the existing statutes applicable to AEC. The principal characters were not using the word *network* to describe the activity; they were simply promoting improved information service regarding atomic energy as called for by law. The mandate in the law was the natural consequence of public interest in atomic energy information. The level of interest quite naturally led to the expenditure of public funds for the development of improved information services. The AEC network of libraries was one of the improvements.

Another government network to gain early recognition was based in

the National Library of Medicine. The purpose of its activity was to make current information more readily available to the medical profession. Computer indexing and searching were employed in conjunction with a magnetically stored data base, and the results were made available to those who needed them through long-distance telecommunications. While the structure of the medical library network differs from that of the Atomic Energy Commission, the governance derives from the same government and the regulations are imposed by statute and regulation. The board of regents of NLM derives its authority from the enabling legislation that created the library. Using that authority, the board supervises the application of existing regulations to the specific problems of the library, but may not depart from regular government practice or make rules that go beyond the statutory authority of the agency. Eleven districts throughout the United States have advisory boards to provide user feedback from the users to NLM's board of regents, but there is neither provision for nor expectation of independent action on the part of the regional boards. It is important to repeat, I believe, that this situation is not detrimental to the effectiveness of the medical library network. With the generous funds provided to it from year to year, the network has been able to develop an outstanding operational program without the diversions that might otherwise occur if questions of governance required continual reconsiderations.

There are other library networks in the federal government. The most advanced in the use of current technology are probably those in the State Department and the Department of Defense. Little is heard about them because of the classified nature of the information that they handle. It is evident, however, that the governance of shared library services — a network — in such closely guarded agencies is controlled under very tight regulations.

The Department of the Interior has 400 government agency libraries interconnected for shared service. The commerce, agriculture, and transportation departments have also banded their agency libraries in an attempt to improve service and reduce the cost of labor-intensive activities through the use of new technology.

Crossing agency lines to form a library network within the federal government is more difficult than attempting to do so for a single agency. Territorial protectiveness becomes more important when more than one agency is involved. No agency willingly surrenders established authority or appropriated funds to another. In the last dozen years, however, there have been two attempts to discuss and then to establish some coordination of library services. One was the Committee on Scientific and Technical

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Information (COSATI), a creation of the Federal Council on Science and Technology — a once-powerful White House body. The other is the Federal Library Committee, a group without any statutory authority or legal basis, but existing under the friendly auspices of the Library of Congress. Neither group has coercive powers among government agencies. The accomplishments of each group have come about through friendly persuasion and against the resistance to encroachment described above. COSATI did not try to form a network, but exercised its influence on publishers, indexing services, and managers of information flow in the commercial sector. The Federal Library Committee, on the other hand, has begun to function as a genuine interagency network. The committee calls itself FEDLINK, and its members have negotiated and signed agreements to participate first in a network experiment and, more recently, in an operational activity. The experiment and the subsequent postexperiment implementation have both been connected with the Ohio College Library Center (OCLC).

Because FEDLINK is of wide interest in the library community, it will be useful to have some of the details on its sole document for governance, taken from the *Federal Register*, June 4, 1973. After dealing with the twenty-one permanent members, the six rotating members, the three armed services observers and the ten regional representatives, the document announces monthly meetings and the appointment of an executive director. Then follows the heart of the statement:

Functions of the committee. — The committee shall on a Government-wide basis (1) consider policies and problems relating to Federal libraries, (2) evaluate existing Federal library programs and resources, (3) determine priorities among library issues requiring attention, (4) examine the organization and policies for acquiring, preserving, and making information available, (5) study the need for and potential of technological innovation in library practices, (6) study library budgeting and staffing problems, including the recruiting, education, training, and remuneration of librarians.

Within these areas the committee shall recommend policies and other measures (1) to achieve better utilization of Federal library resources and facilities, (2) to provide more effective planning, development, and operation of Federal libraries, (3) to promote optimum exchange of experience, skill and resources among Federal libraries, and as a consequence, (4) to promote more effective service to the Nation at large.

The committee shall consider and recommend measures for the implementation of Federal library policies and programs, and shall serve as a forum for the communication of information among Federal librarians and library users.⁴

It will be of great interest to the library community to see whether this successful attempt at an interagency library network within government can be sustained as the number of opportunities for sharing of resources, services, and personnel are extended.

At the state level, library network governance differs. Each state, operating under its own charter, has general laws and regulations that differ from those of the other forty-nine. The differences lead to opportunities for the founders of state library networks to seek and find within the statutes attractive administrative arrangements for their existence. Most often the library network — where one exists — devolves from the office of the state librarian. Special (and in many cases recent) state legislation may have enabled that individual to extend services in ways not contemplated when the state library was formed. Most state libraries were created to assist the state legislature with the conduct of its work — chiefly the formulation of state laws. The functions have greatly expanded and in a wide variety of ways. Some states have developed rich central collections; others have appointed roving advisors to public and school libraries with the goal of assisting in collection development, use of media, reader services, and building construction. Every state library has formulated a plan for library service development and accepted the task of dispensing federal funds for library support to the public, academic and school libraries throughout the state. In this role, each state librarian has had an opportunity to consider development of a library network under state governance. The results have not been uniform, nor should they be expected to be so. Wealthy states with strong library programs have undertaken ambitious programs in library networking. Other states have given lip service to the idea. Existing state legislation, dealing with libraries, public education, higher education, and the promotion of science and industry, has influenced the development of a library network in some states. Other states have written special legislation enabling a library network to develop independently within state government. Those developing the network seek in the legislation to promote wording that will allow all types of libraries to participate in the network and that will create a direct line for the network to seek state-appropriated funds for services that benefit all residents of the state.

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New York State has a very strong legislative statement incorporating libraries and library services. Under strong leadership, these statements have been used to build effective library networks within state government. The New York State Interlibrary Loan network (NYSILL) provides for a state-operated and state-funded arrangement of public and private libraries that will, when called upon, deliver to the reader in his or her local library any recorded material held in a participating library. The governance of the network is under the state library. The state librarian established the regions for service and identified the resource collections that would be used to backstop the regional resources. Regulations for payment to the lending library were also developed under state law. After several years of operation, NYSILL is managing the flow of more than one million interlibrary loans per year within the state. Electronic technology assists in request transmission and fund accounting for this state network.

GOVERNANCE UNDER A QUASI-GOVERNMENTAL BODY

It has been shown above that governance of a library network by the federal government must of necessity be restricted to the statutes applicable to the particular situation. Likewise, under state government, the library network takes its cues for operation from existing or newly created state legislation. Now, we come to governance of a library network under a quasi-governmental body. A quasi-governmental body is one that derives its authority from the federal government, from the state government, or from some combination of the two. Such quasi-governmental bodies usually operate in order to achieve a specific objective that cannot be as easily achieved under the federal government alone or under a state government acting by itself. Sometimes there is an element in the existence of such a body that suggests the inability of ordinary government to handle complicated activities or new ideas. Such a body can sometimes operate outside of the usual rules pertaining to civil service, salaries, accumulation of capital, and payment of taxes. Some of these bodies are constantly in the news; others are quiescent and relatively unknown. Among those that are well known is the Port Authority of New York. An example of a lesser-known authority or quasi-governmental body is the California Library Authority of Systems and Services (CLASS).

A discussion of library network governance under quasi-governmental bodies could hardly go forward at this point without mention of Harry S. Martin's 1974 report to the Southwestern Library Association entitled

"Legal Aspects of Establishing a Regional Interstate Library Network in the Southwest." Martin's paper, later summarized in *Library Trends*, speaks with authority regarding library network governance under interstate compacts and other quasi-governmental bodies. He begins by pointing out that: "In recent years, states have begun to adopt intermediate devices for regional centralization of power and so retard passing up to the federal government many areas of interstate concern."⁵ The legal authority for taking this step is derived from Article I, Section 10 of the U.S. Constitution, which enables the states to act together in certain matters of domestic concern while prohibiting them from entering into any action that would deal with foreign power. The interstate compacts whose work affects libraries have almost all had congressional approval. Some of these compacts have dealt with the area of education and have embraced libraries into that compact. Others have dealt exclusively with the area of libraries. Martin says that "over twenty-five states have adopted an Interstate Library Compact."⁶ It is easy to understand that an interstate compact would be especially apropos where one state has a large metropolitan area bordering directly on another state and finds that the sharing and use of library materials does not follow geographical boundaries. With an interstate compact in operation, the library can derive its funds from all of its users and share its resources with them.

One of the large active interstate library networks derives its governance from a quasi-governmental body, the New England Board of Higher Education (NEBHE). This board was formed according to the constitutional provisions for an interstate compact among the six New England states. The New England Library Network (NELINET) became a sponsored program of the NEBHE and derives its legal status from that organization. Both the executive committee and staff of NELINET derive their authority from NEBHE, which appoints the executive director of NELINET and retains control over its fiscal affairs and operational development. Martin says:

This retention of control by NEBHE over all phases of NELINET activities is interesting. Perhaps there was some doubt about the propriety of establishing a library network by an agency charged with providing "a coordinated educational program for the several states of New England . . . , with the aim of furthering higher education in the fields of medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine, public health, and in professional, technical, scientific, literary and other fields." That is the broad mandate, of course, but it might be interpreted as restricting

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NELINET activities to providing library support services within the educational context.⁷

The difficulties of operating a library network within NEBHE have become noticeable in recent years. The library network is attempting to deal with areas for which a board of higher education has no specific concern — libraries in industry, public libraries, and school libraries. As this is written, the executive committee of NELINET is attempting to determine the course of its future insofar as questions of governance are concerned.

Meanwhile, the Western Regional Education Compact, binding western states into an agreement regarding the sharing of existing facilities for education, formed an organization called the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE). WICHE, realizing that library support is essential to educational facilities in institutions of higher education, has formed a subsidiary organization, the Western Interstate Library Coordinating Organization (WILCO). WILCO, rather than becoming a library network, has become a consulting and study organization outlining new directions for coordinated library activities in western states. WILCO, like NELINET, must operate under the guiding principles and rules of the parent organization. In an educational organization, there is not the flexibility to incorporate within the library network the specific needs of the network as the noneducational aspects of the network are developed. This inflexibility refers specifically to the support of information and recreational services within the community by member libraries. Successful governance for the library network can come about only when all aspects of the function of the library within the community are given full attention. It will be of great interest to see whether the ties between WILCO and WICHE remain as strong as they were during WILCO's founding.

A very different type of quasi-governmental organization is just coming to life in California; CLASS, mentioned above, is an intrastate organization created under California law. The provisions of the law allow for a "joint powers agreement." This agreement, which must be ratified by state government, provides that a variety of municipal, state and county agencies may agree to the creation and funding of a separate agency to meet the particular needs that they perceive and wish to satisfy. In the case of CLASS, the agencies founding the joint powers agreement included state agencies in higher education, political subdivision governments, and school districts. The agency itself derives its authority from the joint powers agreement, but it has its own board of governors and can formulate its own policies — provided those policies do not conflict with state

law or with the regulation of the agencies that formed the joint powers agreement. Governance under this type of arrangement has been in effect for less than one year. It is quite possible that such a model may be wholly effective; however, an evaluation of the governance of the network must be made after it has had time to operate within the state. It may then be possible to determine whether other states also have the legal provision for a joint powers agreement (or something so like it that the model can be copied).

GOVERNANCE BY THE MEMBERSHIP

In the United States it would seem most natural for library networks to be self-governed, that is, governed by the members themselves. Given the tradition of self-government, it would seem altogether likely that the organizations created by citizens for their own benefit would be totally independent of outside organizations. Martin makes clear the reasons that this is not the case:

Legal identity is the first requirement. All other needs, limited liability, a beneficial tax status, control over internal operations, a bank book, ability to acquire and maintain equipment, staff and physical facilities, and many other desirable traits all flow from the act of incorporation as a legal entity and recognition as such by the governments of the region involved. When the operative document is drafted, attention will have to be given to several legal and administrative details, and the choices made will depend upon the preferences of the participants, the purposes to be achieved and the type of method chosen for incorporation. Two of these decisions might be especially difficult but they will affect the legal character of (the) network and may prove troublesome to subsequent operations if they are not met head-on at the beginning. These issues are accountability on the one hand and coercive powers on the other.⁸

It is obvious that the easiest step to take in network governance is to find an agency that can accept the responsibility for accountability and at the same time provide for coercive power. Such an agency might be the federal government, the state government, or a quasi-governmental agency. The easy path, however, has not always been chosen. There are at least two examples of large library networks that have retained within the membership all the powers of governance, including accountability and coercive power. These organizations are the Ohio College Library Center and the Southeastern Library Network (SOLINET). OCLC does not

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need a new introduction to the library community. Its widespread services and its influence on the library community generally have brought it to the forefront of library activities in the last decade. The uninitiated may not know that the instrument of incorporation under which OCLC operates was put in its final form on December 26, 1969, under the laws of the state of Ohio. Beginning with a mere handful of college libraries, OCLC projected a membership of fifty-four potential members within the state. They have now expanded to some eighty-four Ohio libraries, mostly academic and public. While services extend to more than 800 libraries from coast to coast, the governance of the center remains within the Ohio membership.

With the corporation now budgeted at over \$15,000,000 per year, the matter of future governance has come into question by the members themselves. The Arthur D. Little organization of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been retained to guide a study committee in recommendations to the OCLC board of trustees regarding their future course of action. There seem to be many possibilities. The study report could recommend that OCLC continue with its current governance; they could also recommend that the necessary papers be reconstituted to permit election of trustees from among all of the active participants using the services of the center. Another possibility is that the governance now centered in Ohio be shared among the participating networks who have contracted for services with OCLC. A third possibility is that the board of Trustees surrender its governance to a governmental body or to a quasi-governmental body. A still different recommendation could be that the organization incorporate itself as a profit-making venture and sell stock to the public. (Under such circumstances, the major stockholders might elect their own board of directors.) It will be of considerable interest to see how the study committee uses the Arthur D. Little report and finally what action the Ohio members take regarding the future of their very successful enterprise.

The Southeastern Library Network is a much more recent creation, but its membership already outnumbers that of the Ohio College Library Center. SOLINET began as an ad hoc committee within the Association of Southeastern Research Libraries (ASERL) in January 1972. John Gribbin, who was probably closest to the situation, reported on what happened in the spring of that year:

A questionnaire mailed on May 1, 1972, to virtually all academic institutions of the southeast determined the degree of interest in a regional library network and the probable degree of participation. In November

of 1972 a call for membership in a southeastern network was issued and plans for an organizational meeting were announced. Originally it had been proposed that the library network be limited to ASERL institutions, but this seemed undemocratic and economically questionable. More than the 29 member institutions of ASERL, it was argued, were needed to make the network a financial success. Some 35 or 40 institutional members were expected; 99 finally joined.

On March 9, 1973, the organizational meeting was held on the University of South Carolina campus. Temporary operating procedures were adopted and a Board of Directors was elected.⁹

During the next year this temporary board incorporated the network in Louisiana and prepared a set of bylaws for adoption by the ninety-nine members who finally agreed to participate before the charter membership provisions were closed to further applications. Months of dedicated activity by the board members resulted in achievement of tax-exempt status, selection of Atlanta as the headquarters city, and legal authorization to do business in Georgia.

The formal bylaws, adopted in early 1974, were set forth in eight articles governing all of the actions of the membership, the board of directors, the officers, the staff, and the future operations of the nascent organization. During this formative period, the new network was provided assistance by the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB), a regional compact organization of fourteen southern states. The staff of that board has been instrumental in providing mailing lists and some essential administrative services to the new organization. As the final bylaws were drawn, the informal association between the organizations was developed into a formal affiliation through a memorandum of agreement specifying SREB participation in the board of directors and management of the business affairs of the network. For more than two years SREB provided certain administrative services to SOLINET and participated in the network governance through board membership. In July 1976 the elected members of the SOLINET board voted to terminate the affiliation with SREB, effective January 1977. This action has now taken place and the network is governed by its own membership without ties to any other organization.

Like OCLC, SOLINET's governance, management and financial situation has been under study during recent months. Brett Butler of Butler Associates, Stanford, California, was chief investigator. His report will be of interest to all who are considering the matter of library network gov-

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ernance. It is not yet available in the published literature but may be within the next several months. In effect, Butler states that the governance of a regional network such as SOLINET may well be beyond the scope of an outside organization and better left to the management of the interested participants. SOLINET members, it appears, agree with Butler. They have developed a headquarters operation, funded it, and experienced useful services as a result of its operation. The future activities of a membership-governed library network seem to be nearly limitless. With a proper charter and a set of bylaws giving flexibility to the organization, it can serve its members through any channels that are appropriate and economically feasible. The governance, including the coercive power to set fees and to establish standards for participation in activities, rests on the pressure of the peer group. The peer group also insists on accountability, both of its staff and of the organizations that provide service through that staff. In one sense it is a highly active consumer group — but, as consumers, this group has a particular advantage in that they are also the owners of their organization. Their representatives can become members of the board of directors and thereby exert the strongest possible influence on the executive director and his staff. They can also influence the direction of the search for grants and gifts and for coordinate agreements between their network and those with which intercommunication would be mutually beneficial.

There are at least two other networks governed by the membership. They are the Five Associated University Libraries (FAUL) and the Research Libraries Group (RLG). FAUL is small and senior among library networks. Its success in New York has been based on the close cooperation developed among members with related missions. RLG is a very new network linking four of the larger libraries on the eastern seaboard: Harvard, Yale, Columbia and the New York Public Library. This highly select group has suggested that network growth will be considered when that step is practical. Meanwhile, the network is governed by the four members and staffed as an organization independent of any member.

It is probably worth mentioning at this point that the members of SOLINET are not libraries but institutions. This provision in the bylaws of the organization increases the strength of the organization and reduces the risk of volatility in the membership. When the contract for participation is signed by the mayor, the city manager, the president of a university, or the chancellor for higher education in a state, the expectation of steady membership can be justified. Such a provision also allows for nonlibrarians to serve on the board of directors and this situation has already occurred

in SOLINET. The organization has had the benefit of advice from persons well trained in fiscal matters, education, and communications.

IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGY ON LIBRARY NETWORK GOVERNANCE

It is probably correct to assume that library network governance, or at least the administration of that governance, will be altered by the changes occurring in the use of computers and advanced communication by the libraries within those networks. The utilization of advanced technology calls on advanced skills for its management. As long as libraries and library networks are chiefly engaged in routine exchange of materials using established techniques, administration and governance perform best in the hands of those whose chief orientation is in the library field. A survey of the library networks in existence would show this situation to be predominant. State networks, too, are mainly administered by librarians. Only at the federal level does one find that the personnel entrusted with governance are not generally library-trained persons. As explained above, governance within government is largely by statute and regulation. The "who" in the governance equation is more a matter of bureaucratic assignment than professional training. A single exception, the board of regents of the National Library of Medicine, shows that in a discipline-oriented network, the governance should and does provide for board members who have a diversity of experience and a strong emphasis within the area of the specialty, in this case health services.

As computers have become first larger and then smaller (but always more complicated and expensive), governance may change. There is a need to embrace within the governing body of the network those individuals with expertise within the area of the technology that is being used and also within the area that can understand and manage the fiscal implications of a capital-intensive activity. The evidence of this trend is already to be found in certain networks. The ties between the state library network and the state information processing activity have brought about the situation in which members of the information processing community are, by statute, assigned to monitor the technical aspects of library network development and any other use of digital equipment within the state. In membership-governed networks it is to be expected that governance will also include those whose specialties give further credence to the decisions of the network-governing authority among the community at large.

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Another effect of technology on network governance has not yet been observed, but it may be expected within this decade. As the application of the technology of computers and communications both improves and becomes less costly in comparison with labor-intensive services, small library networks will become less viable and larger ones will take their place. As the larger networks emerge, governance can be expected to become more formalized and more homogeneous. While it may occur in some areas that no network extending beyond state boundaries is acceptable to state government, this situation is unlikely to prevail. Common causes and common methods of meeting the needs of society will bring about organizations capable of meeting those needs in the most efficient and economical way.

Communications has had the continuing effect of making the world ever smaller. As it becomes possible to communicate with one another more rapidly and effectively by both picture and word, the old limitations of space and time are dropped. Limitations are surrendered and the notion that library networks must be unnaturally constrained by either geographical or political borders given up. Instead, arrangements of people and resources that are in balance with one another are sought. The governance of a network that will serve under these new constraints will be substantially different in its composition from one that is artificially determined by some characteristics having nothing to do with people and their access to information. The surface of wide-band communications has only been scratched. Broadcasting is not yet a century old, and narrow-casting requiring a wide-band transmission in order to achieve reasonable speed has just begun. As fiber optics come into wide use and as lasers operating through the atmosphere are harnessed for communication, the pressure for library networks to expand their service horizons will dramatically increase. As they do, governance changes will occur.

Veaner, addressing the "Institutional Political and Fiscal Factors In the Development of Library Automation, 1967-1971," touched succinctly on the influence of technology on library automation. The hallmarks can be seen in library network governance as well:

It will be useful to note that the organization and management of library automation activities demonstrate development phases which closely parallel those in the computing environment:

1. A stage in which the *user himself* (cf. accountant or faculty member) undertakes to perform the activity. In this state individual librarians learned programming, did their own design work, wrote,

debugged, and ran programs themselves. (This was possible in the "open shop" environment prevalent in many early computer facilities.)

2. A state in which the *technician* — in this case a librarian with appropriate public service expertise (for circulation applications) or technical processing knowledge (for acquisitions, cataloging, or serials) — took charge of an organized development effort, hired his own programmers and systems analysts, and negotiated directly with the computer facility.

3. A stage in which the *professional system development manager* is hired to oversee the total effort. Such a person is sometimes drawn from business or industry, is a seasoned project manager, and has broad knowledge of computers, especially in the area of costs. Such an appointment is more common in the large library, the consortium, or network.¹⁰

The thrust of the argument is that increased size and growing complexity will require more formalized structures, i.e. a stronger, not necessarily more rigid, governance.

EFFECT OF ECONOMIC CHANGE ON LIBRARY NETWORK GOVERNANCE

The governance of library networks will be responsive to economic change as the growth of the network is itself a creation of that change. One does not need to look far back to see a time characterized in libraries by expanding budgets being used to purchase more and more materials with the objective of comprehensive or at least enlarged collections. In that climate publishers and writers outdid themselves and retrenchment by libraries became inevitable. Change was due and then overdue. As the change came, the governance functioning for a single library was replaced in part by the cooperative, the consortia, or the network substituting group purchase, group expenditures and group collections for individual library activity.

As networks become stronger and more able to meet the demands pressed upon them, their financial requirements will change. They will become capital-intensive enterprises requiring more substantial sums for development and operation of their services. As this occurs governance will be altered as needed to attract favorable response from the sources of the required funds. Because two main sources of funding (governments and foundations) are available, it is predictable that governance will lean

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toward them. In this connection the path ahead is obscured by the worrisome present; those involved with networks struggle to meet their daily needs and find planning for the future a luxury beyond their means.

In the end it is not possible to legislate or even to recommend a single form of governance for all the regional or national networks in a representative republic. It is not possible, either, to put the gears in reverse, go back to "square one" and use cumulative experience to show which way to organize governance the next time. There is no next time; one can only continue from the present position. The variety of possibilities described leads to the tentative conclusion that the flexibility of membership-governed networks offers a better chance for member-user satisfaction while government or quasi-government governance has more direct access to external or indirect funding sources. If the network can choose between user satisfaction and access to unearned income, perhaps it can sail safely between Charybdis and Scylla into the future.

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Governance of Special Information Centers: The Knowledge Availability Systems Center at University of Pittsburgh

JAMES G. WILLIAMS

WHEN THE SOVIET UNION launched the Sputnik satellite in 1957, the age of space exploration got underway in the United States. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) was granted sizable sums of money to create the technology to enable the United States to catch up to and surpass the Soviet Union in the space race. A group of senators and congressmen felt that the benefits of a space program should be more than winning a race for technological prestige. Thus, the appropriations bill called for a program of technology transfer. To implement a program that would effectively transfer technologies developed by NASA and its subcontractors to the industrial and commercial sectors, a network of six regional dissemination centers was established across the United States. The Knowledge Availability Systems Center (KASC) at the University of Pittsburgh was one of these centers.

The charge from NASA to the regional dissemination centers was to effect technology transfer of the research and development (R&D) activities related to the space programs. This is the stated goal of KASC. To help the regional centers attain this goal, NASA made arrangements to have the R&D reports of subcontractors, as well as other related literature, indexed and recorded on magnetic tape for distribution to the regional dissemination centers. The data on the tape were also published in two printed sources produced by NASA: IAA and STAR. KASC made arrangements to search the magnetic tape version of IAA and STAR on the University of Pittsburgh's computer system, thus permitting large

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numbers of complex searches to be performed very quickly. The NASA file has grown at the rate of approximately 5,000 documents per month since 1963. The total NASA file now contains over 800,000 documents.

Beginning in 1963 with the objective to transfer NASA technology to the private sector, KASC spent its early years building the necessary computerized information retrieval capabilities, developing and promoting a market within private industry for information services, building an organization with the necessary talents to provide a high level of information services, and developing operational and fiscal policies and procedures necessary to the governance of a special information center. The decision-making within KASC in 1976 necessarily dealt with marketing, personnel, fiscal policies and operational policies. Although NASA provides KASC with approximately 50 percent of its budget, it is KASC's responsibility to "sell" its services to industrial clients. Thus, KASC does not provide "free" information service, as is thought to be the case with libraries. The concept of charging for information services is a difficult one for many to accept, but is becoming more widespread today. The increase of information retrieval services from Lockheed, Systems Development Corporation (SDC), BRS and others has changed the nature of the information business over the past five years. KASC has had to make some interesting decisions in order to offer information services that are needed, but at a price that can be afforded by the clients and at the same time covers the associated cost of providing these services.

In addition to the NASA file, KASC and the other centers either process or access other computerized files of information. Each center leases and performs searches on one or more files in addition to the NASA file. KASC spins the *CA Condensates* file for its own clients as well as for its sister Regional Dissemination Center (RDC). KASC in turn purchases information services for files that are searched by the other centers. KASC has also found it necessary to utilize the services of the Lockheed and SDC commercial information retrieval services. The decision to utilize this wide variety of information vendors is one dictated by the marketplace and by the need to be cost-effective in terms of operating an information center.

In addition to the NASA regional dissemination center, KASC has a research and development division which performs basic research and develops information-related products for governmental, educational and industrial clients. Examples of efforts in this area are the generation of specialized thesauri, compilation of indexes, and production of bibliographies.

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ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The organizational chart shown in Figure 1 illustrates the organizational structure of the University of Pittsburgh of which KASC is a part. The organizational hierarchy both within the university and within the Regional Dissemination Center — renamed in 1976 the NASA Industrial Application Center (NIAC) — has an internal organization as shown in Figure 2. The KASC information center follows the traditional structure found in most organizations with the exception that NASA has certain controls over policy decisions and the scope of the center's activities. The source of NASA control is based on its allocation of funds to KASC. Likewise, the university maintains its control over KASC from the provost's office. The source of university control lies in its allocation of some supporting funds and of facilities such as a computer system, utilities and space, as well as the use of the university name for marketing purposes. Engineers from the School of Engineering at the University of Pittsburgh work as technical analysts/consultants who supplement the technical analysis staff of KASC.

OPERATIONAL STRUCTURE AND DECISION-MAKING MARKETING

The assistant director of marketing and his staff are responsible for marketing information services available from KASC to the industrial community. This involves the identification of potential clients within a geographical region that can be covered by the available sales staff. Leads for the sales staff are generated in a number of ways. An active mailing program that distributes promotional literature to potential clients is utilized. The mailing list is derived from Dun & Bradstreet's mailing list service. The important decision to be made regarding the Dun & Bradstreet list is which subset of the entire list to select as having a high probability of utilizing the information services provided by KASC. Experience has shown that very small organizations (in terms of number of employees and size of the R&D budget) do not have a high potential for becoming clients of KASC. In addition, certain types of industries, such as clothing and wood producers located in the geographical area around Pittsburgh, have a low potential for becoming clients. Mailings must therefore be restricted to those organizations with high potential for becoming clients in order for a mailing program to be cost-effective.

KASC also has sales seminars to which prospective clients, former cli-

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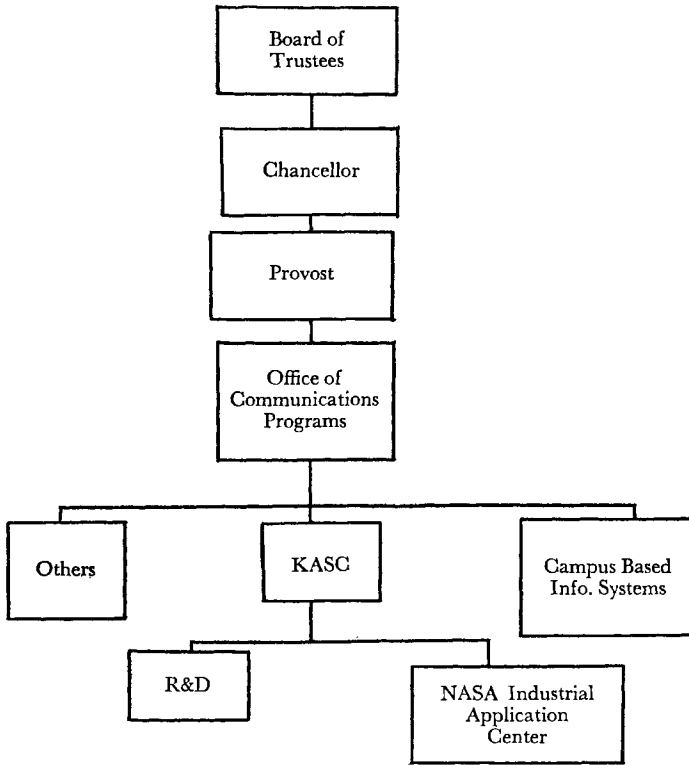


Figure 1. Organizational structure of University of Pittsburgh

ents and present clients are invited. These seminars are partly educational and partly sales in nature. The intent is to provide an ongoing awareness of the developments in the information industry and of the services that KASC can provide. These seminars also provide feedback to KASC in terms of evaluating its existing services as well as acquiring ideas for new or improved services. After a sales seminar, sales staff make followup calls on the attendees. Prospective clients for the sales seminars are also derived from the Dun & Bradstreet listings.

Calls are also made on prospective clients who neither attend a sales seminar nor respond to mailings. Each salesperson has a geographical territory for which he or she is responsible, and is required to make a minimum number of calls per week. Typically, appointments are arranged one week in advance, with the highest level of management possible. The

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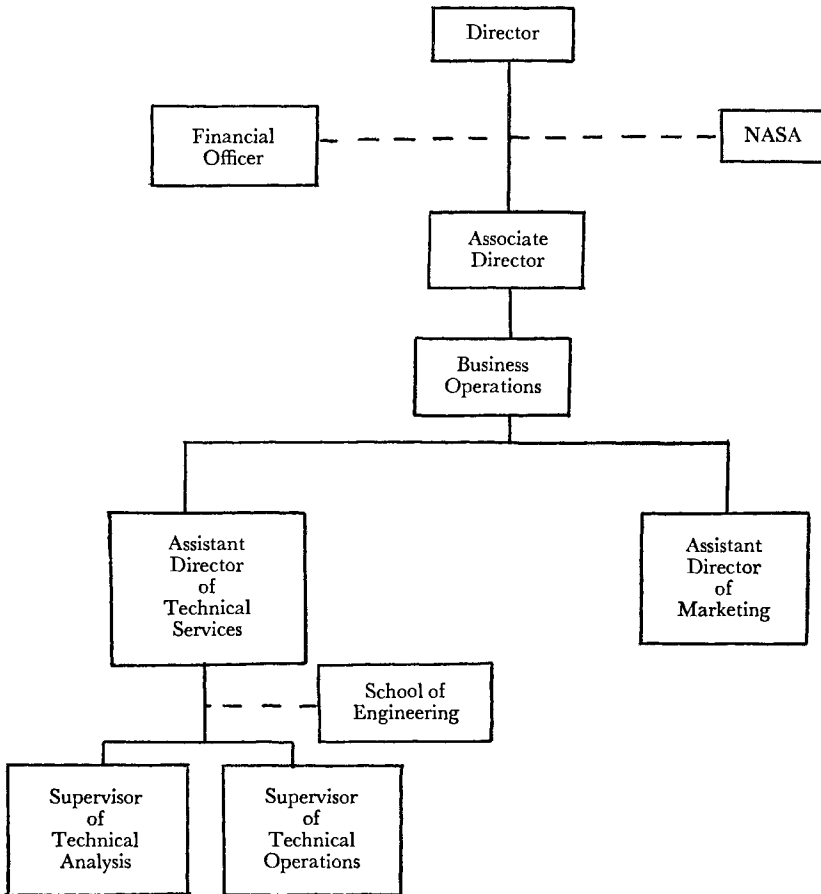


Figure 2. Internal organizational hierarchy of University of Pittsburgh and NIAC

philosophy of attempting to make calls on high-level management (as opposed to a librarian or information officer in a company) is that the final decision to purchase information services is made at that level and not at the lower staff level. Therefore, the decision-maker is the one who needs to understand the value and nature of the information services that can be provided.

Another responsibility of the marketing staff is to recommend the type of information services that will best meet the needs of industrial clients.

This is based on the marketplace rather than on what has traditionally been done. KASC has a variety of information service packages that will appeal to everyone from the one-time user who desires a state-of-the-art or in-depth analysis of a current problem, to the perennial subscriber for a combination of current-awareness (SDI) service, retrospective searches, and in-depth analysis of current problem areas.

Traditionally, a particular problem was matched with a particular file and a search was run against that file. KASC found that most problems are interdisciplinary in nature; therefore, KASC offers the searching of as many files as seem appropriate for a particular problem area. This service provides the client with multiple points of view concerning the problem and frequently leads to creative solutions that could not be achieved through use of a single file for the search.

The need to increase the client base in an information center requires creative marketing approaches based on the services and products that can be viewed as necessary and valuable to the client. The difficulty lies in the fact that the client wants assurance that the search will provide a solution to a problem; the information center is unable to guarantee such results. The lack of such assurance creates a degree of doubt in the potential client's mind as to the value of the service and requires a high degree of salesperson skill and knowledge to remove the uncertainty from the client's mind. A salesperson must be able to counter the objections by the client with information related to the client's business and the value of information services. One method of overcoming the client's doubts may be to explain that a search can reveal other unsuccessful attempts to solve the same problem. The client is saved from expending resources on proven unsuccessful approaches to solving the problem. On the other hand, the discovery of no results at all concerning the problem area may indicate that finding a solution to the problem may be beneficial in terms of selling the solution to others. The basic concept is to build confidence in the fact that information has value, whether it provides a solution to the problem, a partial solution to the problem, or no solution at all. In any case, information provides for better decision-making on the part of the client.

In pricing its services and products, an information center must make a difficult decision. The marketing staff must make these decisions in conjunction with the technical operations staff. The basic information required to make pricing decisions is the cost of providing a given service or product. This requires a detailed task analysis of the time and materials required to produce a particular service or product. Other factors of a

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pricing decision include: (1) whether the marketplace is willing to pay the desired price for the product, and (2) whether the price is competitive with similar services available from other sources. The proliferation of competition in the information industry has made pricing decisions more difficult, but has encouraged information centers to explore methods to reduce the cost of providing services.

Marketing in conjunction with technical services must also assume the responsibility for followup and evaluation. This requires a rigorous program of alerting sales personnel to contract expiration and of periodic inquiries regarding satisfaction with the services and product provided. Marketing offers a means of evaluating the center's services and products. In addition, it gives feedback to technical services regarding the performance of staff in terms of competence, quality of service and responsiveness. Followup and evaluation also provide marketing with some guidelines for marketing program effectiveness and with ideas for new marketing approaches. Marketing is thus a critical and complex aspect of an information center, and produces the revenue by which the center survives. The decisions made in marketing are highly important to the center in terms of budget, staffing, operations and policy.

TECHNICAL SERVICES

Technical services provide the production and distribution capabilities of KASC. When a sale has been made, the client is referred to the technical analysis section. Each client is assigned to a technical information specialist with expertise in the subject area of the client's major interest. KASC's technical analysts have specialized training and experience in fields such as chemistry, engineering, and business. In addition, engineers from the School of Engineering perform analysis functions, as well as act as consultants to the in-house analyst staff. An analyst must not only be versed in the subject area of the problems a client poses, but must also have expertise in the area of information science. He/she must know the proper information resources to utilize in order to retrieve data relevant to the client's questions. The analyst must also be adept at negotiating the question with the client. In most instances the client is a highly qualified expert in his field; this places responsibility on the analyst to understand the client's problem at a sophisticated level. The analyst must foster the client's confidence in his or her ability to deal with the client's problem, and must then translate the client's problem into a form that is searchable using a computer search program. Because KASC utilizes several search systems in addition to its own, the analyst may need to write the search

strategy in several different forms using different vocabulary control mechanisms. The analyst must know both the protocols of several different search systems and the contents and characteristics of several different data bases. The analyst may then conduct part of the search on one of the on-line systems utilized by KASC (e.g., Lockheed or SDC), or may send the search to technical operations to be searched in the batch mode. The constraining factors for the analyst are time and money. Although an analyst is frequently compelled to perform a search that is very broad in nature so that the probability of missing an item of importance is quite low, the cost of such an approach is very high; furthermore, the more items produced by a search, the more time the analyst must spend eliminating the nonrelevant material (noise). Thus, the analyst must attempt to perform a search wherein the tradeoff between cost and effectiveness is reasonable, and therefore must understand specifically what information the client requires. In some cases the analyst must use creative approaches in the retrieval of relevant information. If a client desires to know the market possibilities for glass insulators for the utility industry, for example, it may not be possible to access information directly using the key term or concept of glass insulators. The analyst must seek approaches for searching appropriate files using concepts not directly related to glass insulators — such as determining the predicted number of miles of electrical or telephone wires to be strung in the future and then computing the number of glass insulators required.

Once a search has been completed, the results are delivered to the analyst, who then performs additional analysis of the output. In the simplest case the analyst will simply review the output and mark those items that are relevant to the original problem posed by the client. In a complex case, however, the analyst may analyze the results, classify them according to various dimensions of the problem, and write a report summarizing the results of the search. This procedure may take from five to twenty-five hours, depending on the complexity of the problem and the extent of the output.

The analyst is responsible for following up each client's search results to determine if the client has been satisfied and if the results have been useful. This is done in several ways, but the most direct method is a telephone call after the client has had sufficient time to peruse the results. The use of a questionnaire has also helped to determine the strong and weak points of the services provided. NASA requires that KASC document technology transfers in terms of dollar value. Therefore, if a client has applied the results of a search to solve a problem, improve a process, reduce cost, in-

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crease a market, or similar actions, the analyst is responsible for documenting these cases and for getting the client to document the dollar value to his organization. A program of technology transfer is consequently the responsibility of the analyst staff. Because technology transfer is usually spread over a lengthy period of time after the search results have been provided, a regular schedule of contacting clients for technology transfer followup must be executed. This requires a comprehensive recordkeeping system and an efficient method of alerting analysts when to make followup calls. In some cases the analyst must visit the client's organization to ensure adequate documentation of a technology transfer case.

The analyst staff must keep an accurate in-process tickler system to know the status of each search for each client. This system is designed to provide the client with timely service. It also provides an analyst with the means to determine both the status of any search in the system and how long it has been waiting at any one stage. In addition, a system of keeping clients aware of their contractual obligations (in terms of getting the number of searches completed within the time frame agreed upon) is also maintained by the analyst staff. The tasks of keeping the in-process status of each search and of ensuring that each client's service is on schedule require an extensive amount of paperwork and monitoring. It is important to keep the client on schedule because a client only pays for services performed — not necessarily for the amount of service agreed upon. Changes in the contractual arrangement and method of payment required could eliminate a great deal of both recordkeeping and telephoning clients to remind them it is time for another search.

The technical operations staff is the other half of technical services. The major responsibility of this group is to assemble the information package for the client and distribute it to him. In addition, this staff performs searches on the KASC-maintained files and transforms vendor magnetic tapes into a searchable format. The programmer in this group also performs functions relating to the business operations and a management information system. One very special section of technical operations is the "documents" section. Its purpose is to provide documents to clients who wish to order them through KASC. This service closes the loop in terms of a total information service. The results of searches that a client receives from KASC contain a simple order form that can be completed and returned to the documents section; this saves the client from attempting to locate and copy a document for his use. KASC orders documents from all over the world for this heavily used service.

All search results, whether run on the University of Pittsburgh computer

system or from an outside source, are delivered to technical operations. The search results are matched against an action form, sent to technical operations from technical analysis, that details what files were searched on what systems, the title of the search, and the client's identification code. When the search results arrive they are separated and cut into easily handled form and then returned to the analyst responsible for review and/or report-writing. The results of the analyst review are eventually returned to technical operations for final packaging and distribution to the client. The procedures in technical operations are characterized by a large amount of clerical work and recordkeeping. Technical operations maintains a file on every client which contains a complete description of every search performed. These files are periodically microfilmed to reduce storage space requirements. In addition to the recordkeeping and clerical work, technical skill and knowledge are required to maintain the computerized files and to submit searches.

KASC has maintained a philosophy that the manner in which the information is packaged both logically and physically makes it more useful as well as attractive to the client. A considerable amount of effort is therefore expended in technical services to produce a product that is organized and formatted in a useful manner and is also a professional-looking product. It is difficult to assess the cost-effectiveness of this approach, because other relatively successful information services do not put as much effort into this aspect of their service as KASC does. The effect of an attractive package for marketing and sales purposes is nevertheless probably justified in today's society of slick-looking products.

The supervisor of technical operations has a responsibility to collect statistics concerning all activities in that section. These data are summarized each month and act as a measure of the level of activity of the center. They also permit some interesting insights into which files are being used, how active certain clients have been, how many document orders have been placed and received, and many other aspects of actual operations. These data are invaluable in staffing and scheduling in the operations area, and are also useful to the marketing section in understanding what services are being utilized most heavily and the activity level of certain clients.

The operations section has its own programmer, who is responsible for maintaining all search programs, file conversion programs, and file maintenance programs. The programmer is also responsible for program enhancement for more efficient and effective operation. A number of business application programs are also written, improved and maintained by

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the programmer. These programs handle accounts receivable, invoicing, contract renewal and status reporting.

BUSINESS OPERATIONS

Business operations are administered by the associate director of KASC. The primary function of business operations is to control the flow of money between income and expenditure for the NIAC operations. Although the financial officer is responsible to the university for accounting purposes, the business operations section of the NIAC controls its contractual agreements, invoicing, receivables, expenditure request, sales commission, accounting, general client accounting, budgeting, and reporting. Several of these functions are automated to ease the clerical effort involved. The business section maintains a complete file of all contractual agreements, services performed and correspondence with clients. These functions are typical of most business operations found in commercial establishments selling products or services. The center is audited by both the university and NASA and must therefore maintain accurate and up-to-date records.

The data from business operations and technical services provide the basis for management information that is utilized in the decision-making activities of the center. The data from business operations also provide the basis for constructing a budget. The budget established by the NIAC is based on the NASA contribution, the university contribution, and the estimated income from the various products and services sold by the center. Attempting to estimate income depends on the number of sales personnel, the size of the marketing budget, and the services and products offered for sale. Deviations from known successful patterns involve risk. Because the center may not run a deficit operation, radically new programs of marketing, technical operations, or services and products are not instituted without prior testing and weighing of the costs and benefits involved. The management information supplied by business operations therefore, offers an important measure of performance for planning future operations.

CRUCIAL AREAS OF GOVERNANCE

The most important and time-consuming areas of decision-making and policy formulation for an information center such as KASC are: (1) budgeting, (2) marketing, (3) personnel, (4) evaluation, and (5) control of operations. The fact that KASC must operate similar to a commercial

enterprise in an academic environment places many constraints on the budgeting process at KASC. NIAC is considered by the university to be a research organization and is thus governed by the budgeting policies and procedures of research accounting. As a result, most commercial establishments typically have more flexibility in the budgeting process than does NIAC. The constraint of research accounting eliminates high risks but reduces the capability to be highly innovative in operations. Certain university policies regarding overhead rates, personnel classifications and expenditures cause the budget to look much different than it might if these constraints were removed. Moreover, certain NASA requirements, such as documenting technology transfers, cause various resources to be allocated to meet these requirements. In addition, budget increases based on estimates of increased sales of services and products are viewed with conservatism. Changes in services and operations are consequently made at a slower pace than might be desired.

Marketing requires creativity, and it demands more crucial decisions than most other areas of the information center. Identifying potential clients and new services can be an expensive and time-consuming process, requiring innovative approaches and hard work to perform these tasks with limited resources. Marketing must also train, schedule, motivate and monitor a sales force. This requires a host of decisions, ranging from defining geographical territories to determining the proper commission algorithm that will motivate but not permit overselling or dishonesty. The design of new and better services requires a constant evaluation of the attitudes, needs and demands of the user community. Marketing must also be able to create a demand for a new service or product; this requires promotional literature and a sales story that states fairly the attributes of the service or product without giving false impressions.

Personnel decisions in a university environment are difficult at best, but attempting to operate an information center as described above makes them nearly impossible. The fact that KASC must abide by the personnel policies and procedure of the university generates a host of problems in governing such a center. The university did not plan its personnel classification system to include marketing people, sales people or information analysts. Therefore, obtaining classifications and descriptions for such jobs is a rigorous ordeal, as is establishing a pay scale competitive with industry. In many cases, top-level people cannot be attracted to information center jobs because the pay is too low. Personnel policies regarding promotion, evaluation, dismissal, raises, transfers, and affirmative action similarly pose many difficulties in the operation of a center such as KASC.

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The decision related to hiring personnel is a difficult one. The tradeoff between acquiring individuals who are technically competent in a special subject area but who lack training in the information industry, and individuals who are trained as librarians or information scientists without technical knowledge, is not at all clear. KASC has tended to hire individuals who are technically competent in a subject area and then train them in the information business. Selection of marketing and salespeople who can perform well in the information industry is quite important to the survival of an information center such as KASC; these staff members have typically been drawn from industry and have very little knowledge of information centers and their activities. This again requires a training program.

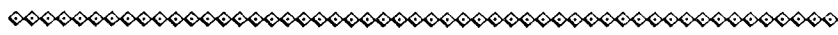
The activities of an information center such as KASC must be evaluated in order to make decisions concerning the center's operations and/or continued existence. Evaluation requires a certain amount of control over the center's activities. Determination of the degree of control necessary is based on cost-effectiveness — i.e. evaluative purposes should not require more control than can be justified in terms of benefits. For example, spending an additional \$10,000 to increase control over an operation that will result in a \$5,000 benefit is not cost-beneficial. This philosophy should also be applied to the control of personnel as well as of operations.

The decision-making activity in an information center is quite varied and parallels that of a business firm; it can reside in a single person or can be delegated to those responsible for a certain area of activity. By centering all decision-making in one person, a certain degree of total control is felt by the decision-maker while, in fact, there are more decisions to be made than one person can manage. Under these conditions, very few decisions are actually made and those that are will probably be of little value to the total organization. A delegated and shared method of decision-making is required if a complex organization is to prosper and find direction for its functions and motivation for its people. The crucial aspects of how much control over operations is required and the mechanisms for monitoring and exerting that control are not simple decisions. The tendency to overmonitor and to overcontrol is natural but is also very costly, not only in terms of the resources that must be committed to such activities, but in terms of employee morale. In an environment in which too much monitoring/control is exerted, employees feel that management has little or no confidence in their abilities. On the other hand, an organization with limited resources and a need to generate income must maintain tighter

controls over its activities than organizations with greater resources or no need to generate income to cover the cost of operations.

MEASURES OF PERFORMANCE

An information center that sells its services in order to survive must guarantee that its employees and its activities and services satisfy some measurable criteria. KASC has attempted to establish performance measures that coincide with both its stated goal of providing technology transfer and its real goal of survival. Therefore, each of the activities has some measure of performance that strives to ensure the achievement of these goals. For example, each salesman is required to make a certain number of calls per week and to produce a certain dollar volume of sales. An analyst is expected to complete search analysis within a certain time frame and to document a certain number of technology transfers. In addition, a specified level of quality is expected in the products produced. This can be measured by the number of letters of praise versus letters of complaint, as well as by the evaluation process.



The Better Mousetrap: External Accountability and Staff Participation

JAMES F. GOVAN

IF THE 1960s SAW an educational revolution, the 1970s are surely witnessing a Thermidorian reaction. The conventional wisdom at the turn of the decade was that student excesses would bring a siege of catapults and starvation by an outraged society against the barricades of higher learning. The siege has certainly come, but the explanation was off the mark. The real causes are far more complex. Indeed, current demands from society for accountability by higher education may well owe more to Sputnik than to student uprisings. With the tremendous stress on and support of higher education after the late 1950s, teaching and research became a heavily subsidized national enterprise.¹ Some traditionalists at the time warned that there would be a price to pay for the newly gained affluence. The price is not exactly what they predicted, perhaps, but there is no question that public scrutiny today of the academic community has greatly intensified.

The economic reverses of the early 1970s inevitably prompted a reconsideration of the national portfolio. The rather sudden shrinkage of resources following years of sustained growth in social services required a new ordering of priorities. Higher education, as one of the nation's more absorbent investments, immediately came under closer examination.² Moreover, as a classic instrument for integrating excluded groups into a society, institutions of higher education assumed a major burden in the implementation of the social reforms enacted into law during approximately the past fifteen years. If the disturbances of the late 1960s played a part in this review, it was perhaps only as the secondary role of inviting attention to an area already surfeited with self-criticism.

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The exactions of accountability from the academy are now legion. Attempting to identify them, Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, has listed:

local, state, and federal laws, regional accrediting associations, professional accrediting associations, teacher certificate requirements, the National Collegiate Athletic Association, the National Institutes of Health, civil rights acts and executive orders, the Internal Revenue Service, the American Association of University Professors, suppliers of public utilities, labor unions, the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the courts, local mores, and many more.³

This array, as incomplete as it is, is impressive — so much so that one educator has complained that the provision of the necessary information is now a principal concern of institutional life, and has wondered if the “accountability movement” can be made accountable; another educator has predicted that the mass of legislation involved may kill the universities.⁴

By all odds, the source of the most insistent demands is the federal government. The simple statistical reports of the past have expanded to include virtually the entire lives of universities. While it is recognized that much of this monitoring goes on in the name of worthy causes, there is a growing restiveness about the occasional arrogance and obtuseness with which it is done, the frequency and precision of information requested, and the mounting costs in time and money which it imposes. Most pertinently, there is a rising concern about the restrictions on governance, professional judgment, and academic freedom, which current application of federal regulations may entail.⁵

State governments have also now begun to expand their requirements of accountability from universities.⁶ In addition to the usual monitoring by the established bureaucracies, many state governments have created new agencies or statewide boards to control state systems of higher education. These boards, with their attendant secretariats, have proven to be one of the most intrusive changes in the environment of public universities. They pose both a second level of supervision and a new echelon of administrators between the universities and the legislatures. Unfortunately, such boards are often subject to political pressure; and because they have the responsibility for overseeing the development of all state institutions, there is the distinct threat of a leveling process.⁷ Already some of the most distinguished public universities in the country have suffered as statewide boards have diverted resources to smaller or less well-established institutions in the system.

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Many of the external demands for accountability officially fall on the boards of trustees of individual institutions, which in turn are increasing their demands for a greater role in the internal lives of those institutions.⁸ Held responsible by outside agencies, they understandably want more control over that for which they must answer. In addition, they share the general concern for the most productive use of available funds and consequently conclude that they should have a greater voice in the management of the institutions. The current challenge to the whole idea of tenure is just one manifestation of this concern.⁹ Some rather alarming examples of board intervention in other areas have occurred in the past several years, and the literature of higher education has contained even more startling declarations of future intent by trustees.¹⁰

These assertions of influence from nonacademics should not come as any great surprise. They are but another expression of a traditional theme in the history of American higher education.¹¹ While it may have been forgotten in the halcyon days of the last decade, American universities have never been autonomous, as some realistic scholars are reminding their colleagues.¹² Support for higher education has always rested on the society's approval, and it has always been necessary for the product of the universities to satisfy society.¹³ In any period of scarcity, the universities have had to rely even more heavily on the public's understanding of their activities and goals in order to win the necessary support.¹⁴ The present situation presents unusual difficulties, because the failure of many degree-holders to find gainful employment or to make positive contributions to the society understandably raises questions about the pertinence of this expensive activity called "the higher learning." It is now quite apparent that the society is demanding the accountability which might answer those questions, and the universities' consequent loss of autonomy could well become more acute as resources remain scarce.¹⁵

It is not an easy task to provide the accounting for, nor to attain an understanding of, higher education. There is much mythology about the nature and structure of an American university. It is certainly no one community or constituency.¹⁶ Within each of its several communities, there are many members who seek only to be left alone to pursue their own personal goals. A certain lubricating ambiguity has prevailed in modern times concerning the relative authority and role of trustee, administrator, faculty member, and student. (This civilized sensibility to the raw assertion of power was clearly an inhibition to forthright action by most college and university officials during the student uprisings.) Even the forces pressuring the university are not always so obvious as those cited earlier.

One writer has maintained that the real shapers of higher education in the 1970s are anonymous — accreditation groups, state planning offices, scholarship and loan committees, budget commissions, offices of institutional research, and the like.¹⁷ The locus of responsibility and authority in an American university has never been altogether clear, but it has never been more elusive than it is today.

Whatever the virtues of this loose organization, its weaknesses became obvious in the 1960s. Faculty influence within the university grew markedly as research grants proliferated and many recipients of them became academic entrepreneurs virtually independent of the institution's authority.¹⁸ Some say that what was left of the splintering community of scholars came totally asunder at this juncture.¹⁹ Neglect of students and teaching, coupled with faculty conservatism in reacting to students' requests for curricular and pedagogical reforms, was a major cause of campus unrest before it turned violent. Then, through some obscure change in sentiment, educational administrators, the traditional innovators in higher education from Gilman to Hutchins, took the brunt of the antagonism when the crises broke.²⁰ A curious alliance formed on most campuses, and the administrations, not the original cause of the discontent, became villains in the eyes of protesting faculty and demonstrating students alike.

As these events plainly revealed, the irony of the situation is that university administrators, the perceived executive officers of the institution, are usually not in control of its nature or behavior, despite the general impression to the contrary.²¹ The chief officer of the university, in particular, finds himself caught between external demands for accountability regarding acts of student, faculty, and others, and internal demands for a greater voice in institutional policy-making, just as the options in that area are becoming more limited.²² He is repeatedly held responsible by one group for actions of others over whom he has no real control.²³ He consequently must rely on his political acumen and persuasiveness, urging moderation on all sides. This rather powerless but highly vulnerable position of the academic executive no doubt accounts for many of the recent resignations and early retirements from those ranks.

The unmistakable helplessness of most institutions when faced with crisis in the late 1960s, the complexities of governance uncovered by the post mortem, and the reexamination of priorities in the new age of scarcity have opened up a discussion of the proper governance of a university. While there are still demands for increased faculty participation in policy-making, there is a chorus of precautionary voices pointing out that faculty decisions caused much of the earlier discontent and that faculty leadership

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failed in the subsequent time of troubles.²⁴ The reality of the collegial model has been questioned, and it has received severe criticism as an organizational model, in any case. To the degree it existed, collegiality proved to be inadequate in the crises of the 1960s, often failing to resolve conflicts in a manner that permitted institutions to respond quickly and effectively to challenges.²⁵

Libraries, as large and visible elements in educational institutions, have escaped none of the pressures on the academic world. The economic stringencies, the external demands for accountability, and the questioning of the administrative structure have all been seen in the library in microcosm. In addition, the libraries have faced dilemmas that are peculiar to them in this period of massive and rapid communication. The steady growth in the volume of publication, the proliferating forms of information, the sudden impact of new technology, the fragmentation of traditional disciplines, the growth in the size of collections and staffs, the challenges from media and computer centers for support, and the absence of an effective national system for sharing resources are problems unique to libraries that compound those faced generally by the institution.²⁶

It was in the midst of this maelstrom of difficulties that the issue of greater staff participation in academic libraries' decision-making surfaced. Already beset with diminished support and with complaints that they were not functioning properly, these libraries now confronted the prospect of broader-based (but slower and more costly) processes. The origin of the application of the idea to libraries is unclear. To be sure, there had been growing interest among librarians in managerial techniques since the 1950s; and certainly the findings of the behaviorists on the motivation of employees, including the investigation of the effects of greater staff participation, became a prominent influence on those techniques during the intervening period. From the start, however, the idea, like some faculty demands for a greater voice in university affairs, bore many of the markings of the protests of the 1960s. In any event, the timing of its introduction could scarcely have been worse in terms of library administrations' abilities to respond positively to it.

From the start, too, there was a good deal of confusion surrounding the idea. Its advocates seldom defined their terms. Participation in what? To what degree? To what purpose? Early critiques raised these and other points, some of which have never been addressed, much less answered.²⁷ Furthermore, caricatures of past administrative practices in libraries were contrived to provide strawmen for the argument.²⁸ Few, if any, academic administrators in the past fifty years have been free to be as autocratic as

these presentations made them appear. None of them has had the unchallenged authority to control his or her organization that a business executive (for whom most management theories were intended) possesses. None has ever had the clear measurement of productivity and profits by which to judge the results.

In the confusion resulting from the absence of clear definitions, the discussion of greater staff participation in decision-making tended to settle on Douglas McGregor's "Theory Y," as set forth in his *The Human Side of Enterprise*.²⁹ Briefly described, Theory Y is the belief that a worker becomes more productive if he or she has the maximum amount of freedom from external control and the maximum opportunity for self-determination consistent with organizational goals. McGregor saw this hypothesis as simply consistent with human nature and with a universal desire for self-esteem. Although Theory Y did not pertain directly to greater staff participation in decision-making, it became loosely interchangeable with the concept of "participative management."

While Theory Y has won many supporters, it has also had its share of critics, many of whom are quite impressive. Perhaps the most impressive is Peter Drucker, who apparently first advanced the ideas on which McGregor based his theory. Drucker has pointed out that McGregor did no original research on the subject;³⁰ and Abraham Maslow, to whom McGregor was also deeply indebted, has added that the research that has been done is far from conclusive.³¹ Moreover, Drucker has rejected the notion that Theory Y is a theory of human nature, suggesting that we still do not know enough about that mystery to formulate hypotheses about it.³² Maslow, while endorsing Theory Y, has said that McGregor was so "pious" about democratic dogma that he lost sight of the fact that the task to be done was the only proper objective of management.³³

This last criticism makes a crucial point. The unhappy truth is that much of what has been written on the subject, by students of management as well as by librarians, stemmed from a basic misunderstanding of McGregor's theory. Early descriptions of Theory Y left the impression that individual self-fulfillment was to take precedence over the organization's purposes rather than to provide a better approach to achieving them.³⁴ In point of fact, Theory Y was an invitation to the worker to make a more creative contribution to the organization, not a declaration of independence from administrative authority. McGregor clearly assumed that this basic intent was understood, but his original statement led both Drucker and Maslow to criticize it for stressing the point insufficiently.³⁵ McGregor himself subsequently attempted to rectify this weakness by emphasizing

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that Theory Y did not imply permissiveness and that the primary consideration was the attainment of organizational goals.³⁶

Indeed, it is apparent that Theory Y makes more demands on an employee than does Theory X, which is McGregor's term for the autocratic management style based on the belief that all workers are essentially lazy and require close supervision. Theory Y entails the substitution of self-discipline, self-direction, and self-motivation for control, guidance, and prodding by a supervisor. Its principal concept is the replacement of external supervision by self-supervision, and its goal is a more motivating balance of freedom and authority, not the absence of authority. It presupposes the possibility of an environment in which ultimate authority is sufficiently unobtrusive to allow an employee to pursue higher-level objectives voluntarily and thus to become more productive.

One can at least discuss McGregor's idea. The broader concept of "participative management" defies much discussion because it is so vague. It is safe to say, however, that any form of staff participation imposes heavy responsibilities, for it is, after all, *management* as well as *participative*. Beyond that, there is a serious difficulty in the application of any single philosophy of management in a service institution. Service institutions, unlike business firms, cannot be monolithic, and no director of this kind of organization has the authority to assure the adoption of one consistent style of administration on all levels of management. There is, in a sense, too much Theory Y inherent in these institutions to permit that kind of consistency. It is even arguable that middle management in a service institution is more influential in shaping its atmosphere and character than is top management.

Peter Drucker has said that the management of "service institutions for performance will increasingly be seen as the central managerial challenge of a developed society, and its greatest managerial need."³⁷ He has argued that businesslike management in a service institution is the control of costs, not performance and results, as in a commercial enterprise.³⁸ This argument speaks directly to the problem of the costs of extended deliberation or excessive committee work by a library staff. With equal pertinence, Drucker describes service institutions as operating in a monopolistic situation without the discipline of either dissatisfied customers or competition. Public criticism, perforce, becomes the major restraint on them, so that they, like bureaucratic agencies of government, are vulnerable to the charge that they are run more for their employees than for the public.³⁹ Drucker therefore concludes that in order to be successful, the staffs of

service institutions must define their purposes and functions clearly and acquire a sense of mission that overarches individual goals.⁴⁰

The parallel between the university and the academic library holds true here, too, and these strictures apply equally to both. It seems quite likely that the public desire for accountability will perpetuate active interest in the structure of the university. There seems to be broad agreement that no one form of governance at all levels is adequate and that a high degree of flexibility is necessary.⁴¹ Some have suggested, in line with Drucker's exhortation, that the form of governance should emerge from a clarification of the university's goals and purposes — but they despair of that clarification's emergence.⁴² Others have pointed out that bureaucratic, collegial, and political models all have an appropriate place in the university.⁴³ Whatever the form, it is clear the governance of the future university will have to be politically responsive and able to accommodate the increasing intervention of the society in the affairs of the academy.⁴⁴

Any new shape of university governance will inevitably affect academic libraries, but perhaps librarians should begin independently to consider the issues involved. There is some evidence that this kind of exploration is already beginning. The extensive discussion of participative management, whatever its faults, has certainly prompted a salutary examination of management practices in the profession. Some sobering reassessments of the subject are now appearing, however, opening up the opportunity for the creation of management theory based on the functions and purposes of libraries.⁴⁵ The faculty model, which librarians have used excessively, is not fully adequate for libraries. The difference between an interdependent and coordinated staff and a faculty of individual instructors must be acknowledged with the same emphasis as are the differences between a library staff and employees of a business.⁴⁶ Librarians have compared themselves to everything from doctors to automobile workers, and the time is long past due for them to seek their own solutions. Surely, it is possible for the profession to evolve management theories which retain many of the benefits of broader participation by the staff while accommodating the responsibilities and constraints which every library faces.

Librarians fearing that modifications in the pure (if undefined) concept of participation will expose them to the alleged autocracy of the past should recognize that any future efforts to address the subject will occur in a context totally different from that in which the original statements on it appeared. The introduction of affirmative action programs, equal opportunity requirements, and the creation of grievances procedures, have severely limited any administrator's freedom to be arbitrary or capricious.

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Recent studies have also indicated that an increasing number of directors have had extensive experience as library staff members, in contrast to their predecessors, who quite often held no previous library position before assuming the directorship.⁴⁷ This new emphasis on staff experience in these appointments should produce an increased sensitivity to staff concerns and provide leadership which identifies more with staff members than with peer administrators. In sum, recent laws, undergirded by management which has more experience of a staff member's perspective, constitute unprecedented safeguards that should allay many anxieties based on past experience.

The question of purity of concept or purpose is not without its significance. It has long been an axiom among management experts that no one managerial approach is appropriate to all situations. No theory or approach is going to be flawless, much less universally applicable. Many of the recent discussions of management, nevertheless, have had overtones of eighteenth-century rationalism, which have given way to suspicion and cynicism in the face of the realities of the human condition and an imperfect world. Presumably, it was the observance of this naïveté that moved one distinguished library educator last year to write that library staffs should learn that no administrator can solve all the problems confronting them.⁴⁸ In his own rather subtle way, he was speaking to the issue of mutual trust — the absolutely indispensable ingredient in any productive organization, according to many authorities on management theory.⁴⁹ While no one should be so complacent as to be vulnerable to exploitation, there is no virtue in paranoia; and neither supervisor nor supervisee should presume the guilt of the other party. For any number of reasons, one would hope that a new theory of library management would give a central place to mutual trust and respect among all members of the organization.

That it should be necessary to reiterate that problems, like the poor, will always be with us, may be in part the fault of library administrators. Too often they have sheltered their staffs from the harsh realities of life in the institutions in which they both work. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the staff's expectations outrun possibilities. Insofar as possible, an administrator should educate the staff, particularly junior members of the staff, in the restrictions under which the library operates. One excellent method of instruction is the sharing or delegation of responsibility, where that is appropriate, so that staffs can experience first-hand contact with institutional life beyond the library. The need for enlightening experiences of this sort is, in point of fact, one of the most cogent arguments for broader staff participation in management.

A theory of library administration that is to survive will have to recognize that no staff speaks with one voice and that there are varying degrees of desire to participate in decision-making within every staff.⁵⁰ It will have to give prominence to the added responsibilities and self-discipline that participation imposes on each participant, as McGregor's presentation of Theory Y did not. It must set the limits on participation and reflect accurately the peculiar characteristics of a service institution. It must allow for the interdependence of individuals and units in a library, as well as for the crucial role of a variety of talents and types of professional judgments. Ideally, it should provide for professional growth and increased status, independent of the assumption of additional administrative duties. Ultimately, however, it must accommodate the library's place in the institutional community, its budgetary constraints, and its accountability to the institutional administration and to the public supporting it.

Above all, library administration in the future, like university governance, must be sensitive to this last element. In a period of economic stringency and aroused public concern, as well as of competition from other agencies disseminating information, libraries must perform well. Librarians cannot afford to degrade services nor alienate their users in an effort, however enlightened or well-intentioned, to make their jobs more challenging and satisfying. Participation and consultation cost time and money and often, like faculty deliberations, produce rather conservative results. In this connection, it is useful to remember Maslow's belief that Theory Y is possible only in periods of affluence.⁵¹ It is also healthy to recall Drucker's statement that service institutions do not operate for the people who work in them.

The overriding reality is that all service institutions exist in a highly political environment, which is becoming more political every day. It may well be that the most effective library administrator today is the one who is politically adept and able to gain support for the library, not just within the institution but in the world outside it. The university itself has shown itself to be largely a political world, in which an administrator functions more as an arbiter between conflicting forces than as an authoritarian, and relies more on persuasion than on power. The library is part of this world. It was recognition of this reality that led Jeffrey Raffel, an economist who had closely investigated the economics of libraries, to conclude that political analysis was more pertinent to a library's welfare than was economic analysis.⁵² Thus, one of the greatest benefits a library administrator can provide for a staff is to perform so well politically that the library staff will have an adequate share of the institution's resources to meet their

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responsibilities. In the long run, this attribute may be as important to job satisfaction of the staff as any particular managerial style.

There is no reason, however, that these external realities, while disciplining any new theory of library management, should preclude it. It should be possible to reconcile personal fulfillment and organizational goals, to accommodate both hierarchical requirements and professional growth, to have a significant degree of participation without crippling costs and delays, to offer excellent service through interesting jobs, to engender professional respect and trust without encouraging exploitation, and to provide the complex accountability now required — yet allow for broad contributions from the staffs in libraries. None of these goals, it should be repeated, will be realized perfectly, of course — but none will be realized even partially by pursuing the solutions of others in different circumstances. The appropriate model must be conceived in the context of the library and specifically designed for that environment. It is a large but fascinating challenge, and it should be commended to librarians studying management theory. The profession needs less adaptation of established ideas and more creative thinking on this important subject.

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The Control of Public Education and School Library Media Programs

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ACCORDING TO THE Constitution, individual states have the greatest responsibility for developing programs of support for public education. Obviously, there are many influences other than state governments which control public education in today's society. This control may be direct and somewhat measurable, as in the case of federal funding programs or state certification standards for instructional personnel. The control may also be indirect and more difficult to measure, as citizens exercise their democratic prerogatives in the voting booth or as students and researchers in institutions of higher education generate ideas. School boards of education and superintendents openly control some school policies, while students and teachers may have more subtle influences on policy-making and other processes existent in public schooling. Private foundations, accrediting agencies and associations, interest groups, and publishers, producers and creators of media also have some control over what public education is and will become in this country. The degree to which these and other undefined groups control public education may vary among geographical areas and among periods in time.

Patterns of control have clearly changed within public education over the past few decades, and these changes have significant implications for school library media professionals and their programs. If school library media programs are viewed as systems interacting with other systems,¹ one can become almost overpowered with a sense of bureaucratic hopelessness. On the other hand, if each of these systems is defined and the influences controlling it analyzed, a manageable holistic design emerges and

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some relatively simple solutions to the problems created by bureaucracy may be determined.

The purpose of this paper is to describe some of the major influences controlling public education today, the changes in this control within this century, and the potential impact these controls could have on the development of school library media programs. It would be unrealistic, considering the space available, to analyze critically all the factors which affect school library media programs. Discussion will therefore be limited to patterns of control by local, state, and federal governments; the general public; accreditation and certification agencies; teacher groups; and those members of various groups who propose a more rational management of public education.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF CONTROL

It is not within the scope of this paper to trace in detail the developments of power and control associated with public education; several excellent works exist which offer the reader a wide diversity of opinions concerning educational control.² Some particular changes in control which have occurred merit some description here, however, in order to provide a contextual basis on which the remainder of the discussion will be developed.

Before the 1950s local school boards were relatively autonomous in controlling public schools.³ Despite the influence of professional educators and other factors during these years, the school board maintained the notion that they represented the wishes of the people they served and were therefore best suited to control the formal educational environments of the local community. Because of the demographic composition of these school boards and their frequently biased decisions, they were deemed "elitist"⁴ and oppressive by different human rights groups. These groups included those with racial and religious interests, as well as those with differing educational ideologies. Teachers during this time were also becoming more frustrated by their lack of personal involvement in decision-making processes which affected them directly.⁵

With the *Brown* decision of 1954,⁶ the federal government began an era in which legislative, executive and judicial leaders were to accept greater moral responsibility for assuring equal opportunities for public schooling. When the success of Sputnik signaled Russian technological superiority, the fear of being a second-rate world power prompted these same leaders also to accept greater fiscal responsibility. Categorical aid from the federal

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government reflected these concerns. Funds were quickly followed by fears among many of the nation's people of a "Big Brother" government.

The 1960s, often described in terms of turbulence and conflict, was a period in which many of the frustrations and fears of the previous decade were released. Negotiation and litigation of educational issues were accompanied by student demonstrations and teacher walkouts; fist fights in cafeterias were accompanied by equally violent floor fights in houses of government. Teachers, students, and the general citizenry demanded a voice in directing those aspects of public schools that related to their own lives; some wanted more freedom, some wanted to control that freedom. Parents began to form citizen action committees and teachers began to strengthen their own professional associations. During these years, the professional teachers' associations became one of the most successful influences in educational policy decisions.⁷ It was also during the 1960s that education became a highly volatile political issue, especially in state contests.⁸

Names such as Holt, Illich and Rafferty became associated with ideas that were held in contempt by some and lauded by others. These men were among the many extremely vocal (and often articulate) critics of public education who emerged in the 1960s. Some of their work appeared on bestseller lists and was frequently discussed in university classrooms. It may be impossible to measure the impact and control that books such as *Why Johnny Can't Read*⁹ had on education and society. These works and many others like them, however, certainly added a critical dimension to public education which required readers to ask fundamental questions about the role, purpose and methods of education.

Today, many of the ideas, criticisms, fears and frustrations expressed in the previous two decades are still present; in some ways they have become more pronounced and more urgent. Many of the names have changed, but the case of active participants remains relatively stable. One of the outstanding differences today is the balancing of power among the various groups concerned with the control of public education. It is not difficult to find supportive evidence that the influence of each group is becoming more powerful and, at the same time, being met quickly by some opposing — or at least equally influential — force.

FEDERAL CONTROL

Over 90 percent of the money spent for public education in this country comes from local and state revenues. It would appear that with such an investment, outside funds would not be sufficient to influence radically the decision-making processes of local and state officials. Since the passage of

a variety of civil rights legislation and the provision of categorical aid, however, many have argued that the federal government has an unduly powerful influence in public education. Part of this fear may be based in conservative, states-rights political ideology. Another reason for some fear is the indirect control resulting from fundings made by the federal government to support such supposedly politically unbound groups as the Education Commission of the States, state departments of education, and other foundations which direct or support research in education.¹⁰ Unlike the direct funds which may be labeled and counted, indirect fiscal responsibility represents a subtle control so widespread that it may resist immediate perception.

Federal legislation and Supreme Court decisions have had tremendous impact on all educational programs. Categorical funding such as ESEA and NDEA have helped to establish and develop school library media programs which otherwise might be physically or functionally nonexistent at the building and district levels. The reasons for this funding are based on the inability of some school systems to raise adequate revenue to support programs of education which provide equal opportunities to all citizens regardless of race, geographical location or physical handicap. Existing methods of raising revenue for public schools have been shown to be inadequate, and modification of these methods alone will not relieve the pressure on local and state agencies. It will be necessary, therefore, to rely on federal dollars for some years to come; in fact, if public education is to meet the needs of students and society in future years, these funds must increase.¹¹ If and when there is an increase, it will be accompanied by increased concern among some people that a conflict of moral and legal obligation exists between local and federal authorities.

One way in which the federal government has responded to criticisms of its overly powerful control has been to provide formerly categorical funds to school systems while granting new authority among the systems' administrations to determine how these funds are to be spent. An example of this which directly affects school library media programs is the recent partial consolidation of ESEA and NDEA programs. State governments have been given these funds, which were earmarked in the past for school library media programs, to spend on guidance, testing and library programs according to locally determined need.

Federal control of public education through legislation and judicial decisions has been and still is very real. It is doubtful that a sudden reversal in this power will occur in the near future, although there is some evidence that a wider distribution of authority is being attempted.

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STATE CONTROL

Alan Rosenthal, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, has claimed that state legislatures are becoming more involved in decisions which control public education. Several states already are very active, while others, Rosenthal predicts, will become more involved in decisions which have traditionally been given to local governing agencies. The reasons for this increased involvement include: (1) legislators have more staff members who can study educational issues in greater depth; (2) internal leadership of many state legislatures has become more decentralized, thus allowing for greater participation among their members; (3) there has been an increase in the number of standing committees responsible for education which are taking their mission more seriously; (4) many state legislatures are convening annually instead of biennially; and (5) legislators themselves are becoming "more independent, moralistic, aggressive and issue-oriented" than their predecessors.¹²

An indication of the potential control which state-level governments may have in education is the degree to which education itself has become an important factor in state politics. Until the 1960s, education was not an issue on which candidates could depend for gathering support or which they feared as damaging to a campaign. Today this has changed to the point that some state governorships have been determined by a politician's stand on educational issues.¹³ This is notable because recent research has indicated that a state's governor is a key agent in determining educational policy within the state.¹⁴ While this may indicate voter control, it may also point to the power being transferred to this office by the voter.

Increased state control of education is implicit in some recent federal legislation. One law which is of particular concern to school library media professionals is Title IV-B of the previously mentioned ESEA. The guidelines for this funding program require that a state advisory council be established to determine how the federal funds are to be allocated to local school systems. School library media professionals have feared that because a member of their profession is not specifically designated currently as a required member of that council, funds which formerly were directed to their programs by the federal government will be diverted to other programs by state governments.

Because research and court decisions have pointed out the inadequacy of local property taxes as a base for public education funding, state governments are being "pressed" into greater financial responsibilities.¹⁵ Because the equation *money = power + control* has been a fairly accurate

description in public education, it must be assumed that state acceptance of greater fiscal responsibility will be accompanied by an increase in the degree of state control.

LOCAL CONTROL

With the exception of some southern states, most county administrative units have declined in influence and control of educational systems.¹⁶ Although local property tax accounts for a good portion of the funds expended for education, most local administrative units make few major decisions. There are indications that this may be changing.¹⁷

Mark Hanson foresees that one result of the current balancing of power among teachers, administrators, and citizens will be an increase in district-level responsibility for negotiation and policy development.¹⁸ Another writer has pointed to a variety of judicial decisions which seem to indicate a shift of control from federal authorities to local school boards.¹⁹ Looking toward the coming decades, a public school superintendent describes the role of the superintendent in terms of increased political involvement and districtwide control. He sees this as a positive force in establishing direction and leadership for the variety of concerns with which an institution in a pluralistic society must deal.²⁰

Local control may also be interpreted to mean building-level control. Ideally, the principal is not merely a paper-shuffling bureaucrat, but a talented manager and effective decision-maker. The importance of this level of control is pointed out by John Goodlad's multiyear study of the League of Cooperating Schools in southern California. He concludes from his research that if significant change is to take place, it will occur at the building level. There may be outside influences, but the people within the building make and influence change more than does any other factor.²¹

Carrying local control one step further, we come to the individual teacher. Meyer concludes that most of the teaching done in this county occurs within the isolation of a classroom and that, as a result, the teacher is not subject to serious evaluation.²² This implies that the individual teacher must be convinced of an idea or practice before it will be taken into the relatively safe atmosphere of the classroom. There the teacher is free to use whatever ideas or methods (within certain legal and moral limits) that he or she wishes without serious concern for the consequences. A tremendous controlling influence on public education — especially related to changes — therefore exists within a school and within the classrooms of that school.

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COLLECTIVE CONTROL

Albert Shanker, one of the most outspoken personalities associated with teacher control through collective action, suggests²³ that teachers have been important in determining the course of public education since the time of Horace Mann. In the 1950s and 1960s, collective action in the form of teacher unions began to gain momentum. Salary, fringe benefits, and working conditions were the areas most frequently mentioned by these burgeoning activist groups.²⁴

Since the earlier attempts to gain primarily personal benefits, teachers' unions have become more insistent on gaining more control both in decision-making processes which determine curriculum content and in other, more encompassing policies.²⁵ An example of the latter is the success of the Chicago Teachers Union as the principal force in the design of READ, a program which was established for the purpose of improving reading among inner-city children.²⁶ The implications of such activities across bureaucratic lines are apparent. Collective action is not limited to teacher groups, however. Administrators are also forming collectives and are gaining recognition at many negotiating tables.²⁷

Some of the criticism aimed at collective negotiations by educators is that most of their negotiation procedures are modeled on those of labor unions.²⁸ Another criticism results from the need to bring in professional negotiators for both educators and local school boards as the complexities of negotiated settlements continue to grow.²⁹ This change in the way in which controls are determined at the local and state levels could have different impacts on public education. A possible impact may be that innovation and change might be stifled by both teachers and school boards because of the fear of failure; failure which could be used against either group in ensuing negotiations. The possibility also exists that educators, including school library media personnel, might not actively pursue a profession's definition and unique description if they are limited by other labors' mind sets toward negotiation.

There has been little exploration by researchers into the positive or negative effects of collective negotiations on school library media programs. In one study, it is reported that the only perceptible outcome of negotiated contracts on school library media programs was related to salary and fringe benefits for the program personnel.³⁰

Another facet of collective control which does not have the stigma so often attached to unions is the professional associations. According to researchers, lobbying by these groups has had a significant influence on legis-

lative decisions for many years.³¹ From data gathered as a part of the Educational Governance Project, it was concluded that "organized educators, albeit badly fragmented in most states, are among the most influential groups in the legislative arena."³² Speaking to the National Education Association (NEA), President Carter's press secretary Jody Powell expressed appreciation for the "massive support from teachers" and pointed out that this support "was critical to our winning this very close election."³³ It is apparent that professional associations control education through lobbying and candidate support. Another way in which control is maintained is through the well-known channels of communication established by conventions, presses, member networks, and research.

The NEA itself is currently lobbying for the rights of teachers and other public employees to strike and participate in collective negotiations. It has been suggested that the NEA serve as a bargaining agent in some areas or that it join with groups which label themselves as unions. The positive or negative effects of any type of collective action initiated or supported by teachers will not be discussed critically here. The point to be made, however, is that there is every indication that these types of activities will persist in public education. Those who plan to effect educational futures cannot expect to escape either commitment for or opposition to such activities.

PUBLIC CONTROL

Recent statistics reported by the National Opinion Research Center indicate that fewer people today have a "great deal of confidence in education" than in 1974.³⁴ Those who have the greatest confidence in public education tend to be blacks and/or less affluent, and less educated than those expressing lack of confidence.³⁵ Such a dichotomy presents educators with a double-edged dagger aimed at the roots of their support. Those who are less able to pay and who often have not had equal access to quality education expect more from public schooling. On the other hand, another distinct group of society has become disillusioned with the often-exaggerated claims of educators and is demanding that public education be improved. Both groups are beginning to insist on proof of educational success and a greater voice in the determination of some educational policies.

Those who have faith in public education must be reassured and the confidence of those who have lost that faith must be restored if public education is to survive. John Sawhill, president of New York University, suggests that: "To restore confidence, we have to strengthen the respon-

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siveness of our institutions to the people they serve. And, as the first step in this process, leaders in our large governmental, academic, and business bureaucracies must make a commitment to subject their decision making to public scrutiny and defend themselves against the adverse criticism of their constituencies."³⁶

Responsiveness also includes the right of participation. If anything has been learned from the chaos of public administrations in the past few years, it should be that the democratic process works. If it is to work, however, people must be involved in its functioning. Too often, educators have tended to exclude parents and other citizens from educational decision-making.³⁷ The frustrations of powerlessness and a concern for their children have caused many community citizens to become more vocal — in some instances more violent — in their demands to be included in education again.³⁸

Perhaps too many have expected too much from education. Perhaps schools have been forced to accept responsibility for things which other institutions in society have abandoned, failed to provide, or failed in providing. Drug problems, sex problems and racial problems are among those for which society holds schools accountable. Basically, all of these and other concerns are "people" problems, the solutions to which lie in a broader base of school and community cooperation. Early childhood educators propose that parent-school cooperation is essential to the successful education of young children; perhaps it is essential for public education at all levels.³⁹ Failure of some apparently mutually beneficial programs (including one designed to promote greater citizen involvement in local schools) can be linked directly to the failure of the educators involved to elicit public participation in the initial planning stages of the projects.⁴⁰

Public control goes beyond the local levels of educational policy-making. Two veteran congressional staff members have pointed out that national legislation related to educational issues is influenced greatly by public opinion and press treatments of the issues. In some cases, this influence may be even greater than that resulting from lobbying by teachers' associations.⁴¹ Whether at the polls or in the streets, public opinion is an influential factor in education. This growing power will be a part of educational control for many years.

ACCREDITATION AND CERTIFICATION CONTROL

There are presently more than forty agencies, including six regional agencies, which influence school library media programs through volunteer or required accreditation.⁴² Several regional agencies are currently

evaluating existing policies which include standards for school library media programs.⁴³ Many people involved in school librarianship believe that these agencies have been important in establishing and supporting school library media resource centers in school systems, in which they would otherwise have been lost in a maze of different priorities. It can safely be said that this kind of control has been important in forming a framework on which to base other program elements, even if it has not helped to improve school library media programs as much as some professionals would like.

Little research has been done to determine the effectiveness of standards for school library media programs; most of what is available is a comparison of various library media programs to existing standards. In the report of one study, the researcher concluded that accreditation was not a reliable predictor of the services available in selected Kentucky elementary schools.⁴⁴ While this may be an accurate study, more intensive research must be done before one can be assured that school library media programs do not benefit from accreditation standards.

Another control process which is especially important to school library media programs is statewide certification of instructional personnel. Several states are in the process of revising their certification standards; the revisions will provide greater regulation of who will teach in public schools. Both the American Association of School Librarians (AASL) and the Association for Educational Communications and Technology (AECT) point out that many state certification standards for school library media personnel are grossly inadequate descriptions of what these professionals should be. Each group has suggested models for certification, the most recent of which is that published by AASL Certification of School Media Specialists Committee.⁴⁵

MANAGERIAL CONTROL

Within the past decade, change has occurred in the managerial control of education systems at all levels. There has been a tendency among many public institutions, including public education, to react to crisis rather than to anticipate and plan to avoid such situations. The concept is not new, but there is a new awareness of the concept. The events of the 1960s highlighted the need for more effective planning methods. Today there are attempts to provide more rational ways in which school systems might be managed.

Beginning with the Johnson administration's adoption of Planning

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Programming Budgeting Systems (PPBS), an almost endless series of planning techniques became a part of management in many public institutions. A variety of these systems for planning have been used by many schools and school systems since the late 1960s.⁴⁶ Currently, management by objectives (MBO) techniques are replacing the PPBS types which were so popular in the earlier attempts to bring sound management into public education.⁴⁷ There is evidence that other methods of resource control are being used. School systems in ten states already are using a zero-based budgeting system.⁴⁸ If the new federal administration follows through in its projected use of this system, there is reason to believe that, like PPBS, it will also be widely used by public education.

Arguments have been posited that businessmen who have little or no knowledge of education are being allowed to control public education.⁴⁹ Today, it appears we are entering a new era, "because a marriage is being consummated between business and education, each contributing what it is best equipped to contribute in order to bring advanced technology and the economies of scale to education."⁵⁰ Former U.S. Commissioner of Education Terrell Bell foresees the "focus of judicial influence on education shifting toward school finance."⁵¹ Not only judicial influence, but public influence (through demands for resource accountability), will force school systems to adopt or develop management systems which are based on reason and evaluation. These changes will undoubtedly affect school library media programs. Within the past five years, planning systems specifically designed for school library media programs have been developed. Included among these systems are models developed by individual states,⁵² individual researchers,⁵³ and by professional associations.⁵⁴

An increase in the influence of educational technologists accompanies this movement toward greater efficiency in education.⁵⁵ Based on the idea of more rational methods of instruction, educational technology has become a major force in the control of education. Students, professors, teachers, and other practitioners and researchers throughout the world are exploring ways in which students and teachers may make more effective uses of resources to assist the individual to attain the highest levels of knowledge possible.

Whether educators will allow these controls to become a "cult of efficiency"⁵⁶ or will use them as part of a more holistic design remains to be seen. It is more likely that a single answer to any of society's problems is no longer possible, but that stronger managerial controls in many aspects of public education will continue to be used widely.

IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGING CONTROL

A look at the complex interrelationships which control public education and at those which may affect it in the future reveals a crazy-quilt of individuals, groups, agencies, and institutions influencing (or attempting to influence) all aspects of public education. School library media programs may be affected directly by accreditation or certification standards; they also may be affected indirectly by widespread feelings of mistrust and alienation among our citizens. The traditions of education are being challenged, and those elements of public education which cannot be justified to the several influential segments which control education will not be allowed to continue.

There are some specific changes or trends in control which could have a negative effect on school library media programs; one such trend is the decentralization of control. Decentralization could result in a further fragmentation among schools within a system and among systems themselves. If bureaucratic barriers are strengthened, either from fear or as an extension of organizational growth, the spirit and functional reality of cooperation among school libraries within a system or between school libraries and other types of libraries may be threatened. If universal access to the world's information is to be the right of each individual, then each student and teacher in every grade and in every school must be served by interconnecting lines of communication and cooperation which transcend geographical and political boundaries. Advancements in delivery systems and related technology make the geographical problems seem miniscule; political and other human problems which control access must also be recognized and solved.

Some comfort can be found in the apparent success of ESEA Title IV-B allocations, which were labeled as an attempt at decentralization. When this legislation was first enacted, many professionals expressed concern that school library media programs would be forgotten or requests for funds overridden, because the legislation was not specifically designated for these programs alone. Given the responsibility to allocate these funds within their states, state advisory councils have included school library media professionals without having been specifically required to do so — to the great surprise of some persons. An apparently healthy relationship also seems to exist between school library media personnel and those associated with guidance and testing.⁵⁷

More powerful local control, especially when influenced by local citi-

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zens, could pose a problem in assuring intellectual freedom. Local control has sometimes resulted in local oppression; one of the most vulnerable areas is that of the free exchange of ideas. If the community were to cause such free exchange to be inhibited, school media professionals would either have to implement their professional obligation or be forced to admit that they cannot assure equal and free access of information to all people.

The growing influence of teacher associations and unions on public education presents another potentially dangerous situation to school library media professionals. If these groups do not support the ideals of school library media program operation proposed by the profession, these programs will not be fought for in terms of resource or legislative support. The integration of the school library media program in the total curriculum is still a dream in many schools. If not part of the daily professional life of teachers, will it be a part of their negotiations and lobbying?

Local administrations are frequently the focus of many school library media personnel communications. Without support from building- and system-level administrations, school library media programs cannot develop to optimum levels. Whether for cooperative information access, material loans or processing, the goodwill and understanding of these educators is essential. If, as some of the research reported in this paper has shown, local administrations are becoming more powerful in determining fundamental policies of schooling, school library media programs and the ideals of the professions could be greatly enhanced or be destroyed, depending on the commitment of these people.

As schools continue to develop and use more rational systems for resource allocation, more school library media professionals need to be involved in both the developmental and operational stages of these systems. Otherwise, as Robert Wedgeworth has said, systems may be adopted which do not reflect the unique planning needs of the school library media program.⁵⁸ The conclusions of one study suggest that school library media personnel in one state have not taken full advantage of existing systems to plan their own programs or to inform others of their programs.⁵⁹ With the increased emphasis on individual learning (i.e. based on the needs of the individual rather than necessarily on teacher vis-à-vis the student) and the growing support for multimedia teaching methodologies, school library media programs could become, in reality, the center of the school's instructional program. This, however, will require school library media professionals to adopt, adapt and develop systems of planning which will

provide efficiency in resource allocation while informing users and potential users of the possibilities of the school library media program.

Ultimately, the impact of these or some undefined controls on school library media programs will depend to a great extent on the commitment, imagination, and abilities of the professionals who staff the programs. If they accept an active and creative role in influencing legislation (as suggested by the American Association of School Librarians),⁶⁰ state and federal leaders perhaps will be more willing to favor legislation which will benefit education through school librarianship. If teachers, students, administrators and the general public are made a part of the planning for school library media program development and are informed of the possibilities which a well-developed program could offer education, the program may be used more, gain volunteers and financial support, and be given the opportunity to grow into its ideal forms.

If school library media professionals united through professional associations and, in turn, worked toward a greater unification of national and state professional associations, perhaps the jobs of lobbying, informing, and creating could be greatly enhanced. If the White House conference becomes a reality, each school library media professional should make a concerted effort to support it, either as a direct participant or by encouraging other citizens to support the needs of better library service. Doing so may help to bring the reality of individual information access a step closer.

It is essential that the definition of systems as they affect daily lives be continued, whether they are ecosystems, communication systems or social systems. The survival and success of many institutions depend greatly on a willingness to describe the total systems in which these institutions function and an ability to participate in the functioning of these systems. Those who are involved in school librarianship are apparently taking these obligations seriously. Whatever the controls which may guide public education, this beginning must be carried on by everyone interested in library media service to our public schools.

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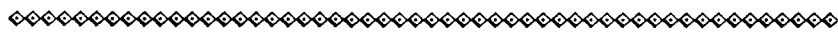
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Library Governance by Citizen Boards

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AS TECHNOLOGY ADVANCES, governance of community services increasingly tends to pass into professional hands. Trained technicians administer various projects and enterprises and are answerable to superiors, who in turn are professional administrators of government. The growth of the city-manager form of government throughout the country is a case in point.

Two conspicuous exceptions to this trend of professional governance are the citizen boards charged with responsibility for public schools and the citizen boards charged with responsibility for public libraries. The accepted and unchallenged continuation of these citizen boards seems to be a plain implication that, although the community is agreeable to the administration of law and order, fire protection or street maintenance by professionals, their children's education — and their own mental resources — must be controlled by the people themselves. Governance by citizen boards of public schools and of public libraries is a kind of insistence upon direct lay participation in mental growth from preschool to adult continuing education.

It could also be argued that continued citizen governance of schools and libraries is part of the cherished democratic process. Perhaps the existence of library boards represents a nineteenth-century idealism which averred that education of whatever kind (including education through a library) deserved special attention through its own governing board, and that it was much too significant and too different from general governmental responsibility to be treated otherwise.

City and county government officials are admittedly far more sophisticated than were their predecessors in the nineteenth century, and an argu-

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ment might be made that a skilled city manager could govern a library in much the same way one would run the police department. Moreover, given the fact of scarce resources, some people feel that more public funding might be consumed by a public library today (when compared to other community needs) than they would like. Despite these factors, however, library boards continue to exist. Large or small, powerful or weak, effective or incompetent, they manage American public libraries. It is true that although the concept of trusteeship does persist, there is a clear movement in the direction of reorganizing government in order to make it more efficient. State libraries are frequently in state departments of education. Some communities have replaced the library governing board with a citizens' advisory committee with no legal power.

Repeatedly, however, those public library boards which have been scrutinized to determine their purpose and usefulness have been retained. It has been found that where boards were ineffective, it was not because they were not needed. The reasons for weakness seemed to be either appointment of unqualified persons, lack of knowledge of duties, or insufficient time devoted to the job. Therefore, there must be strong state and local laws defining trustee duties and responsibilities. Appointive or elective bodies need to know the necessary qualifications for trusteeship, and trustees must be willing to learn about their duties and the importance of their services. Trusteeship is, by definition, the agency of a person or persons to act as governor or protector over property belonging to another. The public library, of course, belongs to the entire community, so library boards are created by law to serve as the citizen control or the governing body of the library. Library trustees are, therefore, public officials and servants of the public. Powers delegated to library boards are a public trust.

Library trustees are involved in the processes of: (1) policy establishment, (2) allocation of resources, (3) the utilization of personnel, and (4) regulation of services. The policy established for public libraries should reflect the needs and nature of the public served. It is therefore important that the board itself be representative of the varied backgrounds, interests, religions, educational levels, and ethnic groups which make up the community. Before policy is determined, there should be a clear understanding of the meaning of policy, how it is decided, and what it covers. There needs to be full comprehension of the concept of the modern library and the whole philosophy of library service.

Today it is most unusual to find an independent library unrelated to any other. Library systems and networks are constantly being expanded

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in order to extend the resources of the library to meet the needs of all the individuals in the community. The library is, after all, important only as it serves the individual, and individual needs vary widely. It is an essential responsibility of governance of the library to insure that the philosophy and ambience of the community are always considered. Although electronic systems and automated devices are used for efficiency, library trusteeship has the opportunity to exercise governance of an institution that directly approaches the individual. What each person needs and asks for from the library may indeed be supplied through computerized systems, but the fulfillment of the mission of the library has to be its impact on the individual's mind. The library board must be constantly aware of this while acting as liaison between the minds of the community and the policy of the library.

Library policy, determined by the board, must always be clearly written, because it is the basis for (1) the operation of the library, (2) the availability of library service, (3) terms of staff employment, (4) objectives of the library program, and (5) the climate of intellectual freedom made possible by the established criteria for the selection of books and materials. Certainly, every library board needs to decide and record policies on: (1) general library objectives; (2) library hours; (3) staff hours, holidays, vacation, and sick leave; (4) salary schedule, personnel classification chart, and retirement provisions; (5) type and quality of books and other library materials to be added to the library collection; (6) charges for lost books and fines on overdue books; (7) services to schools and specialized groups; (8) special services to nonresident borrowers, use of meeting hall, etc.; (9) cooperation with other libraries; (10) acceptance of gifts and memorials; (11) methods of extending services to branch libraries and bookmobiles, participation in library systems, etc.; (12) public relations and publicity; (13) payment of expenses for trustees and staff to attend library conferences, workshops, and professional meetings; and (14) payment of state and national association dues for board members and for the library.

The board needs to understand the clear distinction between policy-making and administration. Once a policy has been adopted, it should have the full support of the board, librarian and staff. The administration of the policy is the responsibility of the librarian. The board must give its full backing to the librarian in the implementation of policy. On a number of occasions trustees have put the full weight of their support behind a librarian when books and materials purchased by the library have been challenged by would-be censors. The freedom to read is indeed

a basic and guaranteed freedom. Public libraries are institutions in the forefront in ensuring the freedom of information, so the citizen governance must be certain that the people have free access to all ideas.

Among the policies set by the board, that which governs book selection is thus one of the most important. Trustees must recognize in setting policy that American communities are composed of people with different backgrounds, interests, religions, ethnic origins, and educational levels. The books and materials should reflect these diverse points of view as much as possible, so that the public will have the freedom of choice and can make its own decisions.

The book selection policy is set by the trustees, but the actual selection is vested in the librarian and staff whose education and training qualify them to do so. Even if the library is too small or lacks funds to have the services of a librarian, the policy-makers should not assume the administrative function of book selection. Under such circumstances, the state library stands ready to assist and give advice. The following is one example of a book selection policy:

The board of this library, recognizing the pluralistic nature of this community and the varied backgrounds and needs of all citizens, regardless of race, creed or political persuasion, declares as a matter of book selection that —

1. Books and/or library material selection is and shall be vested in the librarian and under his direction such members of the professional staff who are qualified by reason of education and training. Any book and/or library material so selected shall be held to be selected by the board.
2. Selection of books and/or other library material shall be made on the basis of their value of interest, information and enlightenment of all people of the community. No book and/or library material shall be excluded because of the race, nationality, or the political or social views of the author.
3. This board believes that censorship is a purely individual matter and declares that while anyone is free to reject for himself books which he does not approve of, he cannot exercise this right of censorship to restrict the freedom to read of others.
4. This board defends the principles of the freedom to read and declares that whenever censorship is involved no book and/or library material shall be removed from the library save under the orders of a court of competent jurisdiction.

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5. This board adopts and declares that it will adhere to and support:
 - a. The Library Bill on Rights, and
 - b. The Freedom to Read Statement adopted by the American Library Association,both of which are made a part hereof.¹

Even though such a policy is board-formulated as it should be, the board must have full confidence in the librarian to implement it. The actual selection reflects the nature of the library. "Book selection which strives for the 'best' should reappraise its stand to serve everyone."² Standard lists may not contain what people want to read or would choose for themselves.³

Libraries serving different kinds of communities, however, are often associated in networks. This means that trustees may be more vulnerable to liability under the censorship laws. It could be that a book that is not considered obscene in one community will be declared illegal in another community in the system. The solution, therefore, is to establish bylaws and policies for every situation and to see that they are followed.

At regularly scheduled board meetings, time should be set aside periodically to evaluate policy. The progress of a library is built on a firm foundation of well-written policy. Heat-of-the-moment decisions can be avoided and crises are much less likely to occur if the relevant policy, which is written, can be cited. Evaluation of policy needs to be done in light of changing conditions in a rapidly changing world, and policies must be revised when needed.

The most critical problem facing public libraries today is the matter of finance.⁴ A primary responsibility of library boards is to see that the library is adequately financed. Two duties of library trustees are concerned with the area of library financing; the library trustee must: "determine the purposes of the library and secure adequate funds to carry on the library program," and "assist in the preparation of the annual budget."⁵ Library trustees must be thoroughly familiar with sources of possible income. Library revenue for operating purposes is almost always obtained by one of two methods: (1) from a special library tax levy, usually expressed in terms of mileage rate on the dollar of assessed valuation of property, or (2) from a lump sum appropriation from the general revenue of the political subdivision. The majority of the states use the first method. In addition, trustees need to know ways of supplementing income through investment, contractual arrangements with other libraries in the area, and

through state and federal funding. Special library needs, such as a new building, can be financed in a number of ways. These may be by a bond issue, special tax levy, federal or state assistance, fund-raising campaigns, private individual contributions, and/or by foundations.

The library budget must be based on the stated objectives of the library which grow out of the needs of the community. It is the duty of the board to determine what funds are needed and what can be reasonably anticipated. They must be sure that the amount budgeted is both sufficient and realistic, and they must be prepared to explain and justify requests. The preparation of the budget is done in cooperation with the librarian and staff, who furnish the details and who have the professional knowledge — but the trustees must be able to explain it to the appropriating body.

There is certainly competition for the tax dollar, and the library competes with many other worthwhile public projects. The trustee who takes the position seriously, however, will give first priority to the library as a legitimate user of both public and private funds. Such trustees recognize that the library cannot just ask for crumbs, thereby falling far behind the schools and other institutions. They must know the magnitude and potential of what the library has to offer and articulate this clearly to the public and public officials alike. Trustees considering library financial problems have found that "financial studies indicate that local sources of revenue alone will be insufficient to meet the public's demand for new programs, new construction, and new staff."⁶ Indeed, dedicated trustees reach far beyond the boundaries of their own library district to be of service in securing state and national funds for all libraries.

One example of this effort occurred a few years ago when libraries faced the prospect of zero federal funding. The American Library Trustee Association called for action; almost 200 trustees from 35 states went to Washington. After a briefing session, these well-informed trustees went to see their congressmen and senators. They did not bludgeon them with statistics, but presented the needs in terms of human resources and backed up their statements with concise and accurate figures. They were prepared to answer questions about their presentations. After the congressional contacts had been made, a press conference was called in the afternoon. Again the trustees gave dramatic presentations of what these cuts would mean to the people in their states. This action received nationwide publicity, and ALA's Washington representative gave much credit to the trustees for the restoration of federal funds for libraries.

The National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) has stated that "balanced inter-governmental funding at the

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local, state, and Federal levels is essential to achieve the content and quality of public library services commensurate with the needs of modern society."⁷ In order to achieve funding at every level, there must be a broad base of citizen support. Trustees have shown leadership in promotion of a governor's conference on libraries in the various states to enlist statewide interest and support.

For the last twenty years, trustees in the American Library Trustee Association have been working for a White House conference on libraries. This conference will take place in September 1979 under the guidance of NCLIS and with the help of its advisory committee. The delegates will be primarily lay citizens chosen from the statewide conferences that precede the White House conference. This will result in lay citizen concern with needs and services of libraries. A national spotlight will be focused on libraries, and forces will be set in motion to fulfill the national goals for libraries.

Trustees are not only responsible for public funds, they can do much to increase these funds. This means that they must be informed fully and exactly, be patient, be pleasant, and, above all, be persistent in their efforts. Friendly and cooperative personal relationships provide the key to the best utilization of personnel. The employment of a competent and qualified librarian, along with the writing of policies which govern the operation and program of the library, head the list of trustee responsibilities. Trustees must first determine both the exact qualifications required in the librarian and what the library can offer to the librarian. Do board members want employees who have impressive academic degrees? Do they want creative people, revolutionaries, book readers, bureaucrats, engineers, teachers, town jesters, philosophers, etc.? The library board must decide. Before employing a librarian, the board should be thoroughly familiar with federal and state statutes concerning equal opportunity and affirmative action. It is also advisable to review the ALA "Equal Employment Opportunity" policy statement,⁸ as well as its "Guidelines for Library Affirmative Action Plans."⁹ These matters should be clearly covered in a written library policy.

Many personnel problems might be nipped in the bud with policies that precisely indicate the terms and conditions of appointments. There will undoubtedly be better job performance if the employees know that there are policies which guard against arbitrary dismissal. Principles of employment security would be stated in policy defining adequate cause and due process. At the same time, library employees should expect a periodic performance evaluation according to written policy.

While employee organizations in the public sector do exist, they are uncommon, particularly in libraries. For economic considerations, such organizations bargain collectively with the agency or body authorized to make a financial commitment on behalf of the governmental unit. For example, such areas usually include a grievance procedure with an impasse provision. The American Library Association has established a Staff Committee on Mediation, Arbitration and Inquiry. When a librarian feels that there has been a problem regarding employment conditions or dismissal, a request for action may be submitted to this committee. This could result in a library's (or a library board's) placement on a censured list until corrections are made.

Trustees need to be aware of good labor relations practices and to look at staff demands objectively with regard to the best operation of the library and the good of the community. Although there may be certain elements of basic opposition of interests in the relationship between management and employees, it actually can be a cordial and productive relationship.

Any prospective candidate should be provided with a job description and know exactly what is expected. There should be a clear understanding not only of the professional duties, but also of the relationship with the board and with the staff.

The librarian has a right to expect to administer the library operations within the framework of the board's policy without interference by the board. The board has the responsibility of approving job specifications and salary scale for the library staff members. The librarian, on the other hand, is responsible for interviewing and recommending the staff of the library, and for supervising their work.

The staff is responsible to the librarian. Any dissatisfaction that may be expressed to board members concerning staff should be taken up directly with the librarian. The relationship of the board with the staff should be one of cordial, friendly interest, completely free from personal intervention between staff and supervisor. The librarian has a further responsibility to keep the board informed at all times in regard to library operations, programs, finances, and problems.

Library trustees are not professionals, nor are they expected to be. Precisely because they are lay people, they bring the citizen viewpoint into focus. "Creative tension," where librarian and board feel free to challenge the others' ideas, can work for the good of the library and community.

A board of trustees and the librarian must work together in an atmosphere of mutual respect and trust. Only where there is understanding

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and cordial cooperation among the board, librarian and staff can the common goal of better library service be achieved.

The services and programs of the library must grow out of the needs of the community, but the best-planned services are worthless unless the people know about them and use them. Citizen boards have a dual role with regard to the services of the library. As laypersons and as the community representatives, trustees must be certain that the public's point of view and the community's needs are considered in the development of services. Equally important is the trustees' responsibility of interpreting the library and its service to the community. As liaison between the library and the community, trustees have the knowledge to relate effectively to both.

The visibility of library services is recognized as a critical problem of libraries. If individuals have questions or problems, or need information, do they automatically think "library"? Do they know they can get telephone reference service? Do they know they can get books or materials not in the library through interlibrary loan? Do they know about outreach programs and other programs in the library? In addition to a planned public relations program, there needs to be a constant discussion of the library. Trustees have wide contacts with various groups, organizations, and individuals. In talking about the library, it should not be just "library, library, library," but the library in relation to farming, in relation to business, in relation to education—the library in relation to the needs of every individual and group. Every possible means must be utilized to let people know how the library can serve them. Many librarians recognize this need. "The knowledge of non-librarian must be used in implementing the new techniques of public relations."¹⁰ Of course, if wide use of the library is stimulated, it is important that the services not only be there, but that they meet high standards as well. There must be careful planning for all services.

Planning is a continuing process. Short- and long-range plans for library programs and development can never be shelved or taken for granted. They must be in constant focus. Trustees must agree on certain basic assumptions: (1) planning is essential, and (2) the ultimate objective of library planning is service to people. Trustees can be effective in seeking the opinions of individuals and groups on how library service can be improved.

The use of technological advances and automation to extend library service and to improve delivery service must certainly be taken into consideration. Thorough studies of exactly what can be accomplished through

the use of computers and other technology are valuable for decisions about what should and should not be used.

The challenge of the future is to find ways of extending library services through cooperation of all types of libraries. Indeed, it may be that through networks of libraries and information centers, the total resources of the libraries of the country may be available to any citizen. John W. Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, has stated:

We built this complex, dynamic society, and we can make it serve our purposes. We designed this technological civilization, and we can manage it for our own benefit. If we can build organizations, we can make them serve the individual.

To do this takes a commitment of mind and heart — as it always did. If we make that commitment, this society will more and more come to be what it was always meant to be: a fit place for the human being to grow and flourish!¹¹

Those who assume the responsibilities of trusteeship cannot be timid souls. Citizens willing to accept the challenge of library governance must have broad vision, strong convictions, and the courage to dare the impossible. This is the kind of commitment that is required of citizen boards involved in library governance; to paraphrase Pogo, "We have met the public, and they is us." This "us" is also our children and older people, our minorities and our ethnic divisions, our occasional consensus and our frequent disagreements. "Us" is a collective noun meaning a community of many individuals. It is for us that libraries exist; otherwise they would be architectural boxes for the storage of books, unused and unread. Responsibility for the governance of our libraries must therefore be accepted in order to attain the fullest possible representation and usefulness to the individuals who constitute "us."

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ACRONYMS

AASL — American Association of School Librarians
AAUP — American Association of University Professors
ACE — American Council on Education
AEC — Atomic Energy Commission
AECT — Association for Educational Communications and Technology
ALA — American Library Association
ASERL — Association of Southeastern Research Libraries
BRS — Bibliographic Retrieval Services
CLASS — California Library Authority of Systems and Services
COSATI — Committee on Scientific and Technical Information
E.O. — Executive Order
ESEA — Elementary and Secondary Education Act
FAUL — Five Associated University Libraries
FEDLINK — Federal Library On-line Cataloging Network
IAA — International Aerospace Abstracts
KASC — Knowledge Availability Systems Center
LC — Library of Congress
LSA — Library Services Act
LSCA — Library Services and Construction Act
MARC — Machine-readable Cataloging
MBO — Management by Objectives
MLA — Medical Library Association
MLS — Master of Library Science
NAL — National Agriculture Library
NASA — National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NCLIS — National Commission on Libraries and Information Science
NDEA — National Defense Education Act
NEA — National Education Association
NEBHE — New England Board of Higher Education
NELINET — New England Library Network
NIAC — NASA Industrial Application Center
NLM — National Library of Medicine
NPAL — National Program for Acquisitions and Cataloging
NYSILL — New York State Interlibrary Loan Network
OCLC — Ohio College Library Center
OMB — Office of Management and Budget
P.L. — Public Law
PPBS — Planning Programming Budgeting Systems
R&D — Research and Development
RDC — Regional Dissemination Center
RLG — Research Libraries Group
SDC — Systems Development Corporation
SDI — Selective Dissemination of Information
SOLINET — Southeastern Library Network
SREB — Southern Regional Education Board
SSIE — Smithsonian Science Information Exchange
STAR — Scientific and Technical Aerospace Reports
WICHE — Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education
WILCO — Western Interstate Library Coordinating Organization

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